EVOLUTION OF MUSLIM POLITICAL THOUGHT IN INDIA VOLUME ONE

A. M. ZAIDI FROM SYED TO

EVOLUTION OF MUSLIM POLITICAL THOUGHT IN INDIA: VOLUME ONE

THE EMERGENCE OF JINNAH

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To My Wife SHAHEDA With Love Once Again

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ABBREVIATIONS

CID Criminal Investigation Department
CIE Companion, Order of Indian Empire

CP Central Provinces

CSI Companion, Order of State of India

GCIE Knight Great Commander of Indian Empire
GCSI Knight Grand Commander of Star of India

HE His [Her] Excellency
HH His [Her] Highness
HM His [Her] Majesty
ICS Indian Civil Service
IMS Indian Medical Service

KCSI Knight Commander of Order of the State of

India

MAO Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental

ML Muslim League

MP Member of Parliament
NWF North-Western Frontier

res Resolution

GLOSSARY OF INDIAN WORDS

ALLAH The Almighty
ANJUMAN Association

ARYA SAMAJIC Pertaining to Arya Samaj Movement

BAHADUR Courageous
BAKRID Id-ul-Zuha

BHANGI Sweeper, a low-caste Hindu

BIDESHI Foreign
BUDMASHES Hooligans
BUK-BUK Non sense
BULBUL Nightingale
CHALO Forward march

CHAMAR A low-caste Hindu

CHAPRASI Peon

CHATAI Straw sheet

DARZI Tailor

DHED A low-caste Hindu

FI-SABIL-ILLAH For the sake of Almighty

GIZ-GIZ Non sense
GUL Flower

Pilgrimage to Mecca

Holy war of Muslims

JESSIA Poll tax. Levy imposed upon non-Muslim

population by the Muslim rulers

KAFIR Infidel

KARTA Head of the family

KASHTKAR Peasant

KAZI One who administers justice

KHALIFA Caliph, successor

LATHI Stick
MADARSAS Schools

MAHAJAN Money lender

MAHAR A low-caste Hindu

MALAKA MOAZZAMA Queen Empress

MAMLATDAR Village Executive

MANDAP Canopy

MANG A low-caste Hindu

MARWARI Belonging to Marwar

MUFTEE Muslim law officer

MUHARRIR Clerk

MULLA Muslim priest

MUNSIF, MUNSIFF Judge of a summary civil court

NAWAB Ruler of a princely state

PANDAL Canopy
RAISES Noblemen

RAJ Rule

RAKHI BANDHAN A festival

SABHAS Organizations

SADKA Charity
SANAD Degree

SUTEE, SUTTEE Old Hindu custom according to which a

widow used to burn herself alive on

the funeral pyre of her husband

SAWAB Religious merit

SWADESHI Indigenous

SWARAJ Independence

TAHSILDAR Officer-in-charge of a Tahsil

TALUQA A small proprietory estate

TALUQDAR Holder of a proprietory estate

ULAMAS Muslim theologians

VAKIL Lawyer WAKF Trust

ZAMINDAR Landlord

ZENANA Female

ZILA District

EDITOR'S NOTE

The primary purpose of these volumes is to portary a comprehensive picture of the great struggle aimed at the regeneration of Indian Muslims in its various stages from the tragedy of 1857 till the Independence of India and Pakistan in 1947 through a careful selection of the most pertinent and fundamental documents pertaining to all the representative Muslim political and semi-political organisations. These organisations include the All-India Muslim League, Jamiat-ul Ulama-e-Hind, Khilafat Conference, Muslim All Parties' Conference, Ahrar Party, Momin Conference, Shia Political Conference, All-India Azad Muslim Board, Nationalist Muslims' Conference etc. It also includes official and non-official correspondence between the principal leaders of the Muslim organisations, the Congress Party and the British Government.

The extensive background material gathered in the first volume covers the period 1857–1916 i.e. from Syed Ahmed Khan till Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah first took over as the President of the All-India Muslim League.

Parts of these volumes containing proceedings of the All-India Muslim League have been compiled from Mr. Sharifuddin Pirzada's pioneer work Foundations of Pakistan in two volumes, published from Karachi. Mr. Pirzada's work, as stated by him, is in itself a compilation of the official reports and pamphlets of the Muslim League which are hardly available anywhere in India. No material changes, therefore, except providing titles to various documents and reorganising the texts wherever found necessary, have been considered desirable.

In the selection of the documents, I have tried to limit my selections to the documents of an official character. Yet in some cases, specially in the case of correspondence and speeches, documents of quasi-official character have been included, the choice having been determined by the utility and availability of such documents. No effort has been made to standardise the spellings, capitalization, punctuation or even to correct obvious errors of syntax in the originals.

The documents have been arranged in time sequence, but within each period, as far as possible, documents relative to a particular school of thought have been arranged in a body so as to provide continuous and uninterrupted reading on that particular subject.

Most subjects in this volume can be quickly found by a glance at the contents in the front of the book. A skeleton or functional index is included at the end of the volume and should adequately serve as a method of finding material on particular subjects.

I acknowledge with gratitude the most valuable support I received in the preparation of these volumes from my friend Mr. Kulwant Rai Mittal of D.K. Book Organization. My special indebtedness is also due to Dr. Zaheer Ahmed Siddiqi, Head of the Urdu Department of Delhi University who provided critical guidance and enlightened me on many important aspects of the project.

I also wish to extend my personal appreciation to my friend Mr. Shahabuddin Ansari, Librarian of the Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi who has been most understanding and generous and from whose unfailing support the project has greatly benefited. Finally I must express my gratitude to the most helpful and smart librarians of the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, Mr. Dharamvir Shastri, Mr. S.K. Bhatnagar, Mr. Sartaj Ali Abidi and Mr. S.K. Sharma who provided valuable material for the project and showed me kindness and courtesy at every step during the preparation of this volume.

Introduction

Islam preceded establishment of Muslim political power in India. The first Muslim fleet appeared on the Indian shores in 636 A.D. at the instance of the Governor of Bahrain during the Caliphate of Omar. But the Caliph disapproved of the invasion because he believed that India was a land where there was perfect freedom for the practice and propagation of Islam. Three quarters of a century after that Mohammed Bin Qasim invaded the shores of Sind and established Muslim rule for the first time.

But the Arab traders used to visit the southern and western coasts of India even before the advent of Islam. After the birth of Islam, they also brought with them the message of Islam and acted both as traders and missionaries. As years passed these Muslims settled in the towns along the southern and western coasts and their influence and riches grew immensely. They were treated with respect and dignity by the people and the rulers of coastal areas.

The Hindu society at that time was greatly agitated as it struggled against Buddhism and Jainism for the upper hand and suffered from social disabilities. The minds of the people were prone to accept new ideas from whatever sources they came. Islam presented a radically different aspect of human thought and action. It appeared on the scene with a simple formula of faith and well defined dogmas and rites and democratic theories of social organisation. Its call was addressed to the whole of mankind, irrespective of colour, race, caste and tribe. It produced a tremendous effect on the minds of the people and by the middle of the 9th century, people in very large number,

specially the low-caste Hindus had converted to Islam with little or no persuation. The Arabs themselves were fascinated by the noble arts of Hindus like the music, architecture and painting and the sublimity of Hindu philosophical ideas and the richness and versatility of Hindu intellect.

By the end of the 9th century A.D. Arab traders and missionaries had spread almost all over India. Before Mehmood Ghaznavi began series of his devastating attacks, they had been living with the Hindus for over two centuries on terms of greatest respect and intimacy.

The Arab rule lasted about three hundred years but with the decline of Abbasid Caliphate, further Arab expansion became impossible. This gave rise to independent Muslim dynasties of Persia, Afghanistan and Turkistan. Ghaznavid dynasty was the most important of them and Subuktgin was its first ruler to invade northern India. The most important of them was Mahmood Ghaznavi who carried 17 invasions of India and sought to advance the cause of Islam by mere force. He was a zealous upholder of Islam and an ardent warrior against idolators. By his policy of persecution and plunder he shattered the economic strength of northern India and paved the way for final subjugation by later Muslim invaders.

But Mahmood's descendants were driven from Ghazni by a rival Muslim power of Ghor, and forced to take refuge in the Punjab. Mohammed Ghori then resolved to conquer northern India. He expelled the Ghaznavids from Lahore in 1186 and after several years' warfare culminating in the defeat of Prithvi Raj in 1192 and annexing the whole of northern India. Soon after his generals overran Bihar and Bengal. Before Mohammed Ghori's assassination by Muslim heretics in 1206 his general Qutbuddin Aibak founded the Slave Dynasty of Delhi and thus established the Delhi Sultanate which lasted until Babar founded the Mughal Empire in 1526. During this period India was ruled by five successive Muslim dynasties for different periods. They were the Slave Dynasty, the Khiljis, the Tughlaqs, the Syeds and the Lodhis.

The Mughal rule lasted from 1526 to 1857 except for a short break during Humayun's reign when the Persian Surs had seized power. But the process of downfall of Mughal Empire had started one and a half century earlier soon after the death of 27

Aurangzeb the last great Mughal Emperor in 1707, the main causes being the religious zeal and rigidity of the Emperor and the inefficiency of his successors. The inefficiency of Aurangzeb's successors gave rise to the Marathas who were once able to cross over to northern India and to the East India Company which annexed one after the other all the strongholds of Muslim power. The 1857 uprising against the British finally eliminated the Mughal rule and established British authority on firm basis.

From 1857 starts the modern period of Indian history. Because the last Mughal King Bahadur Shah Zafar was made symbol of the uprising, Muslims were held mainly responsible for the tragedy by the British and consequently persecuted indiscriminately. Deeply moved by the repression Sir Syed Ahmed Khan took the bold step of writing a small booklet indicting the British Government and holding them responsible for the uprising, the main cause of which, according to him was the lack of social intercourse between the rulers and the ruled.

The decline of Muslim power particularly the events of 1857 produced two schools of Muslim thought diametrically opposite to each other. On the one hand were the *Ulamas* who drew inspiration from Shah Wali Ullah and his son and despised western culture and thought. After 1857 their hatred for the British and the western culture became more pronounced, and they laid the foundation of a school at Deoband (U.P.) for the propagation of their religious and political creed.

On the other hand Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was able to read the signs of the times and could foresee the coming domination of western civilization over his country, and the one and the only way in which he thought he could save his community from isolation was to draw it into its vortex. Therefore, from beginning upto the end he zealously concentrated on popularising and organizing western education in his community. He worked hard to reconcile the Muslims to the Government as well as to the Hindu community.

In 1857 he founded the Mohammedan Anglo Oriental College. The same year Swami Dayanand founded the Arya Samaj. While these social and religious movements were going on, a greater movement was in progress in the western educated sections of the country. Western education had brought with it a yearning for participation in the Administration of the country

and for western political institutions. This yearning had continued to grow till it began to organize itself in the shape of an All-India demand and an All-India organization. As a consequence of this the Indian National Congress came into being in 1885.

The Indian Muslims remained aloof from the Congress from the very beginning. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan silently watched the growth of Congress for two years, but on the occasion of the third session, speaking in Lucknow, he openly advised the Muslims against joining the Congress. Mr. Badruddin Tyabji who presided over the Third Session of the Congress tried to secure Sir Syed's support for Congress, but the later rejected the idea and in August 1888 founded the Indian Patriotic Association in opposition to Congress.

On December 30, 1893, some representative Muslims, assembled at the house of Sir Syed to consider the suggestion of forming an All India Muslim Political Organization. As a result Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental Defence Association was formed. In 1896 when Mr. Rahimatullah Sayani was chosen President of the Congress, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and his colleagues suggested to him that Congress should adopt a resolution to the effect that the Hindus and the Muslims should have equal number of seats in public bodies and that Muslims could join the Congress if this suggestion was adopted. Mr. Sayani in his Presidential Address replied: "It is a good suggestion but so long as Musalmans do not join the Congress movement in the same number and with the same enthusiasm as the Hindus do, the Congress cannot in fairness be asked to carry out such a suggestion."

After Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's death in 1898, the Muslim leaders, including Nawab Salimullah of Dacca, Mohsinul Mulk, Viqarul Mulk, Agha Khan, Mohammed Shafi and Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan, thoroughly debated the various alternatives necessary for the safeguard of their social and political interests. The consensus emerged in favour of forming an all-India Muslim organisation. As a result the Mohammedan Political Association was formed in 1903, but the organisation could not make any headway. Two years later, in 1905, the partition of Bengal created a turmoil throughout the length and breadth of the country. The Muslims in general welcomed the partition which

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had brought into existence a Muslim majority province of East Bengal, while the Hindus started a countrywide agitation against the measure. The partition also gave impetus to the old efforts of Muslims at uniting into an all-India organisation to achieve a common objective. This led to the formation of the Mohammedan Political Union under the stewardship of Nawab Salimullah of Dacca, which however functioned at a limited level only.

In July 1906 the British Government expressed willingness to extend the system of election to the Legislative Council on a wider scale. This partially met the Congress demand but disappointed the Muslims who feared that under the new arrangements Muslims will hardly get any seat. The Muslim leaders represented against the Government move and requested the Viceroy to permit a Muslim deputation to wait upon him. The permission was readily granted on advice from London. The deputation led by the Agha Khan was received by Lord Minto, the Viceroy at Simla on October 1, 1906 and succeeded in eliciting a catagorical assurance from him that the political rights and interests of the Muslim minority would be safeguarded.

Earlier in the middle of September, 1906 at Lucknow on the occasion of preparing the memorandum to be presented to the Viceroy at Simla, the top Muslim leadership again discussed the question of forming a truely representative Muslim all-India body for the safeguard of Muslim interests. The inconclusive discussion was taken up again at Simla. On the basis of suggestions received from various quarters it was decided to form an All-India Muslim Confederacy for which Nawab Salimullah of Dacca presented an elaborate scheme. The scheme was discussed at length on the occasion of the All-India Mohammedan Educational Conference at Dacca in December 1906. Here in Dacca on December 30, 1906 at a public meeting presided over by Nawab Vigarul Mulk, the All-India Muslim League was formed. Soon branches were set up all over India and in England. The first session of the Muslim League took place at Karachi in December 1907 where its Constitution was adopted.

The first noteworthy achievement of the League was the Indian Councils Act of 1909 which conceded League's demand for separate electorate for Muslims. But the hopeful trend among the Muslim masses proved short lived and the annulment of the partition of Bengal announced in November 1911

dampened all their future expectations. This helped in bringing the League nearer to Congress and the creed of the League altered at the 1912 Session showed conciliatory trends. The League meeting at Lucknow in March, 1913 and the Congress session at Karachi in December the same year passed resolutions seeking cooperation between the two organisations. The leaders of the two organisations also attended the session of each other as guests. Mr. Jinnah attended the League session as a guest from the Congress Party.

In 1914 the First World War broke out in which Turkey joined on Germany's side. This again brought the League and the Congress nearer to each other. On Mr. Jinnah's insistence in 1915 the annual sessions of the League and the Congress were held simultaneously at Bombay. It was here that the Congress and the League decided to cooperate with each other and frame a joint scheme for self-government. To achieve this end several joint sessions of the Muslim League Council and the Congress took place.

The Congress-League Scheme of Reform was put before the Congress and the League sessions held simultaneously in Lucknow in 1916, Mr. M.A. Jinnah presiding over the League session. The Scheme of Reform finally accepted by the two parties decided in favour of separate electorates. In July and October, 1917, Joint Session of the Muslim League and the Congress demanded adoption of the Joint Scheme by the Government and in November, 1917, the two organisations presented a joint address demanding complete self-government for India. As a result of these representations, in July, 1918, the British Government announced a set of reform proposals popularly known as Montagu-Chelmsford Proposals which alongwith Subsequent Developments will be discussed in the next volume.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan on Indian Political Affairs

Chapter 1

CHANGING POLITICAL CLIMATE*

I am not given to speaking on politics, and therefore, I do not recollect having ever previously given a political lecture. My attention has always been directed towards the education of my brother Mohammedans, for from education I anticipate much benefit for my people, for Hindustan, and for the Government. But at the present time circumstances have arisen which make it necessary for me, I think, to tell my brother Musalmans clearly what my opinions are. The object, gentlemen, of this lecture is to explain the attitude which the Mohammedan community ought to adopt with regard to the political movements of the time. I am not going to give a philosophical discourse, nor to speak of those abstract questions in political economy which would require many lectures fully to deal with; but I am simply going to express my opinions in a plain and straight forward manner, leaving it to every one who hears me to agree with me or differ from me. The reason why I stand here to address you to-day is because there has grown up in India a political agitation, and it is necessary to determine what action should be taken by the Mohammedan community with regard to it. Although my own thoughts and desires are towards my own community, yet I shall discuss whether or not this agitation is useful for the country and for the other nations who live in it. If it be useful, we must follow it, but if dangerous for the country or our nation, we must hold aloof.

Before I enter on this subject, let me briefly describe the methods of rule adopted by our Government, which has now

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been here for nearly a hundred years. Its method is this: to keep in its own hands all questions of foreign policy and all matters affecting the army. I hope that we, who are subjects of the Empire, will not seek to interfere in those matters which Government has set apart as its own. If Government fights Afghanistan or conquers Burma, it is no business of ours to criticise its policy. Our interests will not suffer from these matters being left in the hands of Government. But we are concerned with matters affecting internal policy, and we have to observe what method Government has adopted for dealing with them. Government has made a Council for making laws affecting the lives, property, and comfort of the people. For this Council she selects from all Provinces those officials who are best acquainted with the administration and the condition of the people, and also some Raises who, on account of their high social position, are worthy of a seat in that assembly. Some people may ask why should they be chosen on account of social position instead of ability?

On this, gentlemen, I will say a few words. It is a great misfortune—and I ask your pardon for saying it—that the landed gentry of India have not the trained ability which makes them worthy of occupying those seats. But you must not neglect those circumstances which compel Government to adopt this policy. It is very necessary that for the Viceroy's Council the members should be of high social position. I ask you—would our aristocracy like that a man of low caste or insignificant origin, though he be a B.A., M.A. and have the requisite ability, should be in a position of authority above them and have power in making the laws that affect their lives and property? Never! Nobody would like it. (Cheers) A seat in Council of the Vicerov is a position of great honour and prestige. None but a man of good breeding can the Viceroy take as his colleague, treat as his brother, and invite to entertainments at which he may have to dine with Dukes and Earls. Hence no blame can be attached to Government for making these great Raises members of the Council. It is our great misfortune that our Raises are such that they are unable to devise laws useful for the country.

The method of procedure in the Council is this. If any member introduces a subject of importance and difficulty, a commission is appointed which collects evidence and digests it. The

matter is discussed in every newspaper, and memorials are invited from Associations. The Council then discusses the matter. every member speaking his views with great vigour and earnestness, more even than was displayed in the discussion on the third resolution in the Mohammedan Educational Congress, advocating what he thinks necessary for the welfare of the country, and as regardless of the Viceroy's presence as if he were a figure of white stone. I have had the honour of being in this Council. I do not recollect any matter of importance concerning which ten or twenty memorials were not sent in. A Select Committee was then appointed, which read through these memorials and discussed them at length, many of which on consideration turned out to be thorough nonsense. Extracts from Urdu papers were also considered. Although not in my presence, yet often amendments suggested by these memorials have been adopted. This is the method of our Government. After this the law is passed and sent to the Secretary of State, who is assisted by the Council of State, which consists of men of the highest ability, who have lived for a long time in India and have often held all offices, from that of Assistant Collector to Lieutenant-Governor. If they think it expedient it is passed, otherwise a short note of four lines cancels it.

Often people make objections to the laws so passed, and in some cases they are perhaps right; but in the majority of cases, as far as my experience goes, those very people who sit in their houses and make objections would, if they had been on the Viceroy's Council, have supported them. Many details appear wrong on superficial consideration, but when all the circumstances and difficulties are taken into account, they are seen to be right. In conclusion, whether the laws be good or bad, no one can say that Government acts independently of the wishes and opinions of its subject. Often it adopts some of the views expressed in newspapers and memorials. Can we say that Government, in the method it has adopted for legislation, acts without regard to the opinions of the people? Can we say that we have no share in the making of the laws? Most certainly not. (Cheers)

There is now another great duty of Government. That is, that in whatever country Government establishes its dominions, that dominion should be made strong, firm and secure. I believe that if any of my friends were made Viceroy, he would be as

loyal to Her Majesty the Queen-Empress of India as is our present Viceroy, Lord Dufferin. And his first duty would be to see that the Empire of Her Majesty were made so firm that no enemy, external or internal, could shake it. (Cheers) If it were my good fortune to be Viceroy, I speak from my heart when I say I would not be equally but more anxious to see the rule of the Queen placed on a firm basis. (Cheers) It is a first principle of Empire that it is the supreme duty of every one, whether Hindustani or Englishman, in whose power it rests, to do what he can to strengthen the Government of Her Majesty the Queen.

The second duty of Government is to preserve peace, to give personal freedom, to protect life and property, to punish criminals and to decide civil disputes. Now, every one will admit that Government completely fulfils it duty in this respect. Many people think that the laws have become too numerous and consequently law suits have become more complicated, and thus lead to disputes between the zamindar and kashtkar. But this is the opinion of the critics who sit in their houses, who if they sat on the Viceroy's Council, would change their views. The multiplicity of laws depends upon the condition of the country and of its people. New companies and new industries are springing into existence. New and unforeseen legal rights have arisen which are not provided for in the Mohammedan law. Hence, when the country is changing at such a rate, it is absolutely necessary that new laws should by brought forward to deal with the new circumstances. Government does not want to increase the number of laws, but when the conditions of the country change, it becomes unavoidable. Taking all these things into account I cannot but think that there is no requirement of the country that cannot be brought to the notice of Government. And nothing can prevent our expressing the views on the subject and being heard by Government. So that whatever comfort we can experience under any Government, we have under the British Government. (Cheers)

I come now to the main subject on which I wish to address you. That is the National Congress and the demands which that body makes of Government. I cannot allude to its proposals in detail because, as far as I am aware, there are forty-nine of them, at the time at my disposal in short. I must therefore select the most important. That about which the greatest agitation

has taken place is the following. When the Government of India passed out of the hands of the East India Company into those of the Queen, a law was passed, saying that all subjects of Her Majesty, whether white or black, European or Indian, should be equally eligible for appointments. This was confirmed by the Queen's Proclamation. We have to see whether, in the rules made for admission to civil appointments, any exception has been made to this or not; whether we have been excluded from any appointments for which we are fitted. Nobody can point out a case in which for any appointment a distinction of race has been made. It is true that for the Covenanted Civil Service a special set of rules has been made, namely, that candidates have to pass a competitive examination in England. Perhaps it will occur to every one that this examination ought not to be held in England, and the proposal about which the greatest agitation has taken place is that it should be held in India. And to this is added another proposal that all posts in the subordinate service, from that of Tahsildar to Subordinate Judge, should also be given by competitive examination.

I do not think it necessary for me on this occasion to discuss the question why the competitive examination is held in England, and what would be the evils arising from its transference to India. But I am going to speak of the evils likely to follow the introduction into India of the competitive principle. I do not wish to speak in the interests of my own co-religionists, but to express faithfully whether I think the country is prepared for competitive examination or not. What is the result of competitive examination in England? You know that men of all social positions, sons of Dukes and Earls, of darzies and people of low rank, are equally allowed to pass this examination. Men both of high and low family come to India in the Civil Service. And it is the universal belief that it is not expedient for Government to bring the men of low rank; and that the men of good social position treat Indian gentlemen with becoming politeness, maintain the prestige of the British race, and impress on the hearts of the people a sense of British justice; and are useful both to Government and to the country. But those who come from England, come from a country so far removed from our eyes that we do not know whether they are the sons of Lords and Dukes or of darzies, and, therefore, if those who govern us are

of humble rank, we cannot perceive the fact. But as regards Indians, the case is different. Men of good family would never like to trust their lives and property to people of low rank with whose humble origin they are well acquainted. (Cheers)

Leave this a moment, and consider what are the conditions which make the introduction into a country of competitive examinations expedient, and then see whether our own country is ready for it or not. This is no difficult question of political economy. Every one can understand that the first condition for the introduction of competitive examination into a country is that all people in that country, from the highest to the lowest should belong to one nation. In such a country no particular difficulties are likely to arise. The second case is that of a country in which there are two nationalities which have become so united as to be practically one nation. England and Scotland are a case in point. In the past many wars were waged between those countries and many acts of bravery were done on both sides, but those times have gone, and they are now like one nation. But this is not the case with our country, which is peopled with different nations. Consider the Hindus alone. The Hindus of our Province, the Bengalis of the East, and the Mahrattas of the Deccan, do not form one nation. If, in your opinion, the peoples of India do form one nation, then no doubt competitive examination may be introduced; but if this be not so, then competitive examination is not suited to the country. The third case is that of a country in which there are different nationalities which are on an equal footing as regards the competition, whether they take advantage of it or not.

Now, I ask you, have Mohammedans attained to such a position as regards higher English education, which is necessary for higher appointments, as to put them on a level with Hindus or not? Most certainly not. Now, I take Mohammedans and the Hindus of our Province together, and ask whether they are able to compete with the Bengalis or not? Most certainly not. When this is the case, how can competitive examination be introduced into our country. (Cheers) Think for a moment what would be the result if all appointments were given by competitive examination. Over all races, not only over Mohammedans but over Rajas of high position and the brave Rajputs who have not forgotten the swords of their ancestors, would be placed as ruler a

Bengali who at the sight of a table knife would crawl under his chair. (Uproarious cheers and laughter) There would remain no part of the country in which we should see at the tables of justice and authority any face except those of Bengalis. I am delighted to see the Bengalis making progress, but the question is— What would be the result on the administration of the country? Do you think that the Rajput and the fiery Pathan who are not afraid of being hanged or of encountering the swords of the police or the bayonets of the army, could remain in peace under the Bengalis? (Cheers) This would be the outcome of the proposal if accepted. Therefore if any of you—men of good position, Raises, men of the middle classes, men of noble family to whom God has given sentiments of honour—if you accept the country should groan under the yoke of Bengali rule and its people lick the Bengali shoes, then, in the name of God jump into the train, sit down, and be off to Madras, be off to Madras! (Loud cheers and laughter) But if you think that the prosperity and honour of the country would be ruined, then, brothers, sit in, your houses, inform Government of your circumstances, and bring your wants to its notice in a calm and courteous manner.

The second demand of the National Congress is that the people should elect a section of the Viceroy's Council. They want to copy the English House of Lords and the House of Commons. The elected members are to be like members of the House of Commons; the appointed members like the House of Lords. Now, Let us suppose the Viceroy's Council made in this manner. And let us suppose first of all that we have universal suffrage, as in America, and that everybody, chamars and all, have votes. And first suppose that all the Mohammedan electors vote for a Mohammedan member and all Hindu electors for a Hindu member, and now count how many votes the Mohammedan members have and how many the Hindu. It is certain the Hindu members will have four times as many because their population is four times as numerous. Therefore we can prove by mathematics that there will be four votes for the Hindu to every one vote for the Mohammedan. And now how can the Mohammedan guard his interests? It would be like a game of dice, in which one man had four dice and the other only one. In the second place, suppose that the electorate be limited. Some methods of qualification must be made; for example, that people with a certain income shall be electors.

Now, I ask you, O Mohammedans! Weep at your condition! Have you such wealth that you can compete with the Hindus? Most certainly not. Suppose, for example, that an income of Rs. 5,000 a year be fixed on, how many Mohammedans will there be? Which party will have the larger number of votes? I put aside the case that by a rare stroke of luck a blessing comes through the roof and some Mohammedan is elected. In the normal case no single Mohammedan will secure a seat in the Viceroy's Council. The whole Council will consist of Babu so-and-so Chuckerbutty. (Laughter) Again, what will be the result for the Hindus of our Province, though their condition be better than that of the Mohammedans? What will be the result for those Rajputs the swords of whose ancestors are still wet with blood? And what will be the result for the peace of the country? Is there any hope that we and our brave brothers the Rajputs can endure it in silence? Now, we will suppose a third kind of election. Suppose a rule to be made that a suitable number of Mohammedans and a suitable number of Hindus are to be chosen. I am aghast when I think on what grounds this number is likely to be determined. Of necessity proportion to total population will be taken. So there will be one member for us to every four for the Hindus. No other condition can be laid down. Then they will have four votes and we shall have one. Now, I will make a fourth supposition. Leaving aside the question as to the suitability of members with regard to population, let us suppose that a rule is laid down that half the members are to be Mohammedan and half Hindu, and that the Mohammedans and Hindus are each to elect their own men. Now, I ask you to pardon me for saying something which I say with a sore heart. In the whole nation there is no person who is equal to the Hindus in fitness for the work. I have worked in the Council for four years, and I have always known well that there can be no man more incompetent or worse fitted for the post than myself. (No. No!) And show me the man who, when elected, will leave his business and undertake the expense of living in Calcutta and Simla, leaving alone the trouble of the journeys. Tell me who there is of our nation in the Punjab, Oudh, and North-Western Provinces, who will leave his business, incur these expenses, and attend the Viceroy's Council for the sake of his countrymen. When this is

the condition of your nation, is it expedient for you to take part in this business on the absurd supposition that the demands of the Congress would, if granted, be beneficial for the country? Spurn such foolish notions. It is certainly not expedient to adopt this cry—Chalo Madras! Chalo Madras! without thinking of the consequences.

Besides this there is another important consideration, which is this. Suppose that a man of our own nationality were made Viceroy of India, that is, the deputy of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen-Empress. Could such a person grant demands like these, keeping in view the duty of preserving the Empire on a firm and secure basis? Never! Then how absurd to suppose that the British Government can grant these requests! The result of these unrealisable and impossible proposals can be only this, that for a piece of sheer nonsense the hearts of everybody will be discontented with Government, and everybody will believe that Government exerts over us a tyrannical rule, and turns a deaf ear to our requests. And thus anger and excitement will spread throughout the people, and the peace of the country will be destroyed.

Everybody knows well that the agitation of Bengalis is not the agitation of the whole of India. But suppose it were the agitation of the whole of India, and that every nation had taken part in it, do you suppose the Government is so weak that it would not suppress it, but must needs be itself overwhelmed? Have you not seen what took place in the Mutiny? It was a time of great difficulty. The army had revolted; some budmash had joined it; and Government wrongly believed that the people at large were taking part in the rebellion. I am the men who attacked this wrong notion, and while Government was hanging its officials, I printed a pamphlet, and told Government that it was entirely false to suppose that the people at large were rebellious. But in spite of all these difficulties, what harm could this great rebellion do to Government?

Before the English troops had landed she had regained her authority from shore to shore. Hence, what benefit is expected from all this for the country, and what revolution in the Government can we produce? The only results can be to produce a useless uproar, to raise suspicions in Government and to bring back again that time which we experienced thirty or thirty-one

years ago. That is on the supposition that by all of us coming together we could do something; but if you take the agitation as it is, what could it accomplish? The case of Ireland is held up as an example. I will not discuss the question whether that agitation is right or wrong. I will only point out that there are at this moment in Ireland thousands of men ready to give up their lives at the point of the sword. Men of high position who sympathise with that movement fear neither the prison nor the bayonets of the police. Will you kindly point out to me ten men among our agitators who will consent to stand face to face with the bayonets? When this is the case, then what sort of an uproar is this, and is it of such a nature that we ought to join it? We ought to consider carefully our own circumstances and the circumstances of Government. If Government entertains unfavourable sentiments towards our community, then I say with the utmost force that these sentiments are entirely wrong. At the same time if we are just, we must admit that such sentiments would be by no means unnatural. I repeat it. If Government entertains these bad sentiments it is a sign of incompetence and folly. But I say this, we ought to consider whether Government can entertain such thoughts or not. Has she any excuse for such suspicions or not? I reply that she certainly has. Think for a moment who you are? What is this nation of ours? We are those who have ruled India for six or seven hundred years. (Cheers)

From our hands the country was taken by Government into its own. Is it not natural then for Government to entertain such thoughts? Is Government so foolish as to suppose that in seventy years we have forgotten all our grandeur and our empire? Although, should Government entertain such notions, she is certainly wrong, yet we must remember she has ample excuse. We do not live on fish; nor are we afraid of using a knife and fork lest we should cut our fingers. (Cheers) Our nation is of the blood of those who made not only Arabia, but Asia and Europe, to tremble. It is our nation which conquered with its sword the whole of India, although its peoples were all of one religion. (Cheers) I say again that if Government entertains suspicions of us it is wrong. But do her the justice to admit that there is reasonable ground for such suspicions. Can a wise ruler forget what the state of things was so short a time

ago? He can never forget it. If then the Mohammedans also join in these monstrous and unreasonable schemes, which are impossible of fulfilment, and which are disastrous for the country and for our nation, what will be the result? If Government be wise and Lord Dufferin be a capable Viceroy, then he will realise that a Mohammedan agitation is not the same as a Bengali agitation, and he will be bound to apply an adequate remedy. If I were Viceroy, and my nation took part in this affair, I would first of all drop down on them, and make them feel their mistake. Our course of action should be such as to convince Government of the wrongness of her suspicions regarding us, if she entertains any. We should cultivate mutual affection. What we want we should ask for as friends. And if any ill-will exists it should be cleansed away. I am glad that some Pathans of the N.W.P. and Oudh are here to-day and I hope some Hindu Rajputs are also present. My friend Yusuf Shah of the Punjab sits here, and he knows well the mood of mind of the people of the Punjab, of the Sikhs and Musalmans. Suppose that this agitation that has arisen in Bengal—and I imagine that no danger can spring from it there—suppose that this agitation extends to these Provinces, to the Rajputs and Pathans of Peshawar, do you think it will confine itself to writing with the pen—giz, giz, giz, giz, giz—and to mere talking—buk, buk, buk, buk? It will then be necessary for Government to send its army and show by bayonets what the proper remedy for this agitation is. I believe that when Government sees the Mohammedans and other brave races taking part in this stupid agitation, it will be necessary for Government to pass a new law and to fill the jails. O my brothers! children of my heart! This is your relationship to Government. You should conduct yourselves in a straightforward and calm manner; not come together to make a noise and a hubbub like a flock of crows. (Cheers and laughter)

I come now to some other proposals of the Congress. We have now a very charming suggestion. These people wish to have the Budget of India submitted to them for sanction. Leave aside political expenses; but ask our opinion about the expenses of the army. Why on earth has Government made so big an army? Why have you put Governors in Bombay and Madras? Pack them off at once. I am also of the opinion that their ideas should certainly be carried out. I only ask them to say who,

not only of them but of the whole people of India, can tell me about the new kinds of cannon which have been invented—which is the mouth and which the butt end. Can any one tell me the expense of firing a shot? Does any one understand the condition of the army? One who has seen the battle-field, the hail-shower of shots, the falling of the brave soldiers one over another, may know what equipments are needed for an army. If then, under these circumstances, a Mohammedan were on this Council, or a Bengali—one of that nation which in learning is the crown of all Indian nations, which has raised itself by the might of learning from a low to a high position—how could he give any advice? How ridiculous then for those who have never seen a battle-field, or even the mouth of a cannon, to want to prepare the Budget for the Army?

A still more charming proposal is the following. When some people wrote articles in newspapers, showing that it was impossible to establish representative government in India, and bringing forward cogent reasons, then they came down a little from their high flight and said: "Let us sit in the Council, let us chatter; but take votes or not, as you please;" can you tell me the meaning of this, or the use of this folly?

Another very laughable idea is this. Stress is laid on these suggestions; that the Arms Act be repealed, that Indian Volunteers be enlisted, and that army schools be established in India. But do you know what nation is proposing them? If such proposals had come from Mohammedans or from our Rajput brothers, whose ancestors always wore the sword, which although it is taken from their belts, yet still remains in their hearts, if they had made such proposals there would have been some sense in it. But what nation makes these demands? I agree with them in this and consider that Government has committed two very great mistakes. One is not to trust the Hindustanis and to allow them to become volunteers. A second error of Government of the greatest magnitude is this, that it does not give appointments in the army to those brave people whose ancestors did not use the pen to write with; no, but a different kind of pen—(Cheers)—nor did they use black ink, but the ink they dipped their pens in was the red, red ink which flows from the bodies of men. (Cheers)

O brothers! I have fought the Government in the harshest

language about these points. The time is, however, coming when my brothers, Pathans, Syeds, Hashimi and Koreishi, whose blood smells of the blood of Abraham, will appear in glittering uniform as Colonels and Majors in the army. But we must wait for that time. Government will most certainly attend to it; provided you do not give rise to suspicions of disloyalty. O brothers! Government, too, is under some difficulties as regards this last charge I have brought against her. Until she can trust us as she can her white soldiers she cannot do it. But we ought to give proof that, whatever we were in former days, that time has gone, and that now we are as well-disposed to her as the Highlanders of Scotland. And then we should claim this from Government. I will suppose for a moment that you have conquered a part of Europe and have become its rulers. I ask whether you would equally trust the men of that country. This was a mere supposition. I come now to a real example. When you conquered India, what did you yourselves do? For how many centuries was there no Hindu in the army list? But when the time of the Moghal family came and mutual trust was established, the Hindus were given very high appointments. Think how many years old is the British rule? How long ago was the Mutiny? And tell me how many years ago Government suffered such grievous troubles, though they arose from the ignorant and not from the gentlemen? Also call to mind that in the Madras Presidency, Government has given permission to the people to enlist as volunteers. I say, too, that this concession was premature, but it is a proof that when trust is established, Government will have no objection to make you also volunteers. And when we shall be qualified, we shall acquire those positions with which our forefathers were honoured. Government has advanced one step. She has also shown a desire to admit us to the civil appointments in the Empire. (Cheers)

In the time of Lord Ripon I happened to be a member of the Council. Lord Ripon had a very good heart and kind disposition and every qualification for a Governor. But, unfortunately, his hand was weak. His ideas were radical. At that time the Local Board and Municipality Bills were brought forward, and the intention of them was that everybody should be appointed by election. Gentlemen, I am not a Conservative, I am a great Liberal. But to forget the prosperity of one's nation is not

a sign of wisdom. The only person who was opposed to the system of election was myself. If I am not bragging too much, I may, I think, say that it was on account of my speech that Lord Ripon changed his opinion and made one-third of the members appointed and two-thirds elected. Now just consider the result of election. In no town are Hindus and Mohammedans equal. Can the Mohammedans suppress the Hindus and become the masters of our "Self-Government"? In Calcutta an old, bearded Mohammedan of noble family met me and said that a terrible calamity had befallen them. In his town there were eighteen elected members, not one of whom was a Mohammedan; all were Hindus. Now, he wanted Government to appoint some Mohammedans; and he hoped Government would appoint him. This is the state of things in all cities. In Aligarh also, were there not a special rule, it would be impossible for any Mohammedan, except my friend Maulvi Mohamed Yusuf, to be elected; and at last he, too would have to rely on being appointed by Government. Then how can we walk along a road for which neither we nor the country is prepared?

I am now tired and have no further strength left. I can say no more. But, in conclusion, I have one thing to say, lest my friends should say that I have not told them what is of advantage for our nation and for the country, and by what thing we may attain prosperity. My age is above seventy. Although I cannot live to see my nation attain to such a position as my heart longs for it, yet my friends who are present in this meeting will certainly see the nation attain such honour, prosperity and high rank, if they attend to my advice. But, my friends, do not liken me to that dyer who, only possessing mango-coloured dye, said mango-coloured dye was the only one he liked. I assure you that the only thing which can raise you to a high rank is high education. Until our nation can give birth to highly-educated people it will remain degraded; it will be below others, and will not attain such honour as I desire for it. These precepts I have given you from the bottom of my heart. I do not care if any one calls me a mad man or anything else. It was my duty to tell those things which, in my opinion, are necessary for the welfare of my nation, and to cleanse my hands before God the omnipotent, the merciful, and the forgiver of sins.

Chapter 2

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS I'

I think it expedient that I should first of all tell you the reason why I am about to address you on the subject of to-night's discourse. You know, gentlemen, that, from a long time, our friends, the Bengalis have shown very warm feelings on political matters. Three years ago they founded a very big assembly, which holds its sittings in various places, and they have given it the name "National Congress." We and our nation gave no thought to the matter. And we should be very glad for our friends the Bengalis to be successful if we were of opinion that they had by their education and ability made such progress as rendered them fit for the claims they put forward. But although they are superior to us in education, yet we have never admitted that they have reached that level to which they lay claim to have attained. Nevertheless, I have never, in any article, or in any speech, or even in conversation in any place, put difficulties or desired to put difficulties in the way of any of their undertakings. It has never been my wish to oppose any people or any nation who wish to make progress, and who have raised themselves up to that rank to which they wish to attain and for which they are qualified. But my friends the Bengalis have made a most unfair and unwarrantable interference with my nation, and therefore it is my duty to show clearly what this unwarrantable interference has been, and to protect my nation from the evils that may arise from it. It is quite wrong to suppose that I have girded up my loins for the purpose of fighting my friends the Bengalis: my object is only to make my nation understand what

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I consider conducive to its prosperity. It is incumbent on me to show what evils would befall my nation from joining in the opinions of the Bengalis: I have no other purpose in view.

The unfair interference of these people is this—that they have tried to produce a false impression that the Mohammedans of these Provinces agree with their opinions. But we also are inhabitants of this country, and we cannot be ignorant of the real nature of the events that are taking place in our own North-West Provinces and Oudh, however their colour may be painted in newspapers, and whatever aspect they may be made to assume. It is possible that the people of England, who are ignorant of the real facts, may be deceived on seeing their false representations, but we and the people of our country, who know all the circumstances, can never be thus imposed on. Our Mohammedan nation has hitherto sat silent. It was quite indifferent as to what the Babus of Bengal, the Hindus of these Provinces, and the English and Eurasian inhabitants of India might be doing. But they have now been wrongly tampering with our nation. In some districts they have brought pressure to bear on Mohammedans to make them join the Congress. I am sorry to say that they never said anything to those people who are powerful and are actually Raises and are counted the leaders of the nation; but they brought unfair pressure to bear on such people as could be subjected to their influence. In some districts they pressed men by the weight of authority, in others they forced them in this way—saying, the business they had at heart could not prosper unless they took part—or they led them to suppose that they could not get bread if they held aloof. They even did not hold back from offering the temptation of money. Where is the man that does not know this? Who does not know who were the three or four Mohammedans of the North-West Provinces who took part with them, and why they took part? The simple truth is they were nothing more than hired men. (Cheers) Such people they took to Madras, and having got them there, said: "These are the sons of Nawabs, and these are Raises of suchand-such districts, and these are such-and-such great Mohammedans," whilst everybody knows how the men were bought. We know very well the people of our own nation, and that they have been induced to go either by pressure, or by folly, or by love of notoriety, or by poverty. If any Rais on his own

inclination and opinion joins them, we do not care a lot. By one man's leaving us our crowd is not diminished. But this telling of lies that their men are landlords and Nawabs of such-and-such places and their attempt to give a false impression that the Mohammedans have joined them, this is a most unwarrantable interference with our nation. When matters took such a turn, then it was necessary that I should warn my nation of their misrepresentations in order that others should not fall into the trap; and that I should point out to my nation that the few who went to Madras, went by pressure, or from temptation, or in order to help their profession, or to gain notoriety, or were bought. (Cheers) No Rais from here took part in it.

This was the cause of my giving a speech at Lucknow, contrary to my wont, on the evils of the National Congress; and this is the cause also of to-day's speech. And I want to show this that except Badruddin Tyabji who is a gentleman of very high position and for whom I have great respect, no leading Mohammedan took part in it. He did take part, but I think he made a mistake. He has written me two letters, one of which was after the publication of my Lucknow speech. I think that he wants me to point out those things in the Congress which are opposed to the interests of Mohammedans in order that he may exclude them from the discussion. But in reality the whole affair is bad for Mohammedans. However, let us grant that Badruddin Tyabji's opinion is different from ours; yet it cannot be said that his opinion is the opinion of the whole nation, or that his sympathy with the Congress implies the sympathy of the whole community. My friend there, Mirza Ismail Khan, who has just come from Madras, told me that no Mohammedan Rais took part in the Congress. It is said that Prince Humayun Jah joined it. Let us suppose that Humayun Jah, whom I do not know, took part in it, yet our position as a nation will not suffer simply because two men stand aside. No one can say that because these two Raises took part in it therefore the whole nation has joined it. To say that the Mohammedans have joined it is quite wrong and is a false accusation against our nation. If my Bengali friends had not adopted this wrong course of action, I should have had nothing to do with the National Congress, nor with its members, nor with the wrong aspirations for which they have raised such an uproar. Let the delegates of National Congress become the stars of heaven, or the sun itself—I am delighted. But it was necessary and incumbent on me to show the falsity of impression which, by taking a few Mohammedans with them by pressure or by temptation, they wished to spread that the whole Mohammedan nation had joined them. (Cheers)

Gentlemen, what I am about to say is not only useful for my own nation, but also for my Hindu brothers of these provinces, who from some wrong notions have taken part in this Congress. At last they also will be sorry for it, although perhaps they will never have occasion to be sorry; for it is beyond the region of possibility that the proposals of the Congress should be carried out fully. These wrong notions which have grown up in our Hindu fellow-country-men, and on account of which they think it expedient to join the Congress, depend upon two things.

The first thing is that they think that as both they themselves and the Bengalis are Hindus, they have nothing to fear from the growth of their influence. The second thing is this: that some Hindus—I do not speak of all the Hindus but only of some—think that by joining the Congress and by increasing the power of the Hindus they will perhaps be able to suppress those Mohammedan religious rites which are opposed to their own, and, by all uniting, annihilate them. But I frankly advise my Hindu friends that if they wish to cherish their religious rites they can never be successful in this way. If they are to be successful, it can only be by friendship and agreement. The business cannot be done by force; and the greater the enmity and animosity the greater will be their loss. I will take Aligarh as an example. There Mohammedans and Hindus are in agreement. The Dushera and Moharrum fell together for three years, and no one knows what took place. It is worth notice how, when an agitation was started against cow-killing, the sacrifice of cows increased enormously, and religious animosity grew on both sides, as all who live in India know well. They should understand that those things which can be done by friendship and affection cannot be done by any pressure or force. If these ideas which I have expressed about the Hindus of these Provinces be correct and their condition be similar to that of the Mohammedans, then they ought to continue to cultivate friendship with us. Let those who live in Bengal eat up their own heads. What they want to do, let them do it. What they don't what to do,

let them not do it. Neither their disposition nor their general condition resembles that of the people of this country. Then what connection have the people of this country with them? As regards Bengal, there is, as far as I am aware in Lower Bengal, a much larger proportion of Mohammedans than Bengalis. And if you take the population of the whole of Bengal, nearly half are Mohammedans and something over half are Bengalis. Those Mohammedans are quite unaware of what sort of thing the National Congress is. No Mohammedan Rais of Bengal took part in it; and the ordinary Bengalis who live in the district are also as ignorant of it as the Mohammedans. In Bengal the Mohammedan population is so great that if the aspirations of those Bengalis who are making so loud an agitation be fulfilled, it will be extremely difficult for the Bengalis to remain in peace even in Bengal. These proposals of the Congress are extremely inexpedient for the country which is inhabited by two different nations, who drink from the same well, breathe the air of the same city, and depend on each other for its life. To create animosity between them is good neither for peace, nor for the country, nor for the town.

After this long preface I wish to explain what method my nation, nay, rather the whole people of this country, ought to pursue in political matters. I will treat in regular sequence of the political questions of India, in order that you may have full opportunity of giving your attention to them. The first of all is this—In whose hands shall the Administration and the Empire of India rest? Now, suppose that all the English and the whole English army were to leave India, taking with them all their cannons and their splendid weapons and everything, then who would be rulers of India? Is it possible that under these circumstances two nations—the Mohammedans and the Hindus—could sit on the same throne and remain equal in power? Most certainly not. It is necessary that one of them should conquer the other and thrust it down. To hope that both could remain equal is to desire the impossible and the inconceivable. At the same time you must remember that although the number of Mohammedans is less than that of the Hindus, and although they contain far fewer people who have received a high English education, yet they must not be considered insignificant or weak. Probably they would be by themselves enough to maintain their

own position. But suppose they were not. Then our Musalman brothers, the Pathans, would come out as a swarm of locusts from their mountain valleys, and make rivers of blood to flow from their frontier on the north to the extreme end of Bengal. This thing—who after the departure of English would be conquerors—would rest on the will of God. But until one nation had conquered the other and made it obedient, peace cannot reign in the land. This conclusion is based on proofs so absolute that no one can deny it. Now, suppose that the English are not in India and that one of the nations of India has conquered the other, whether the Hindus the Mohammedans, or the Mohammedan's the Hindus. At once some other nation of Europe, such as the French, the Germans, the Portuguese, or the Russians, will attack India. Their ships of war, covered with iron and loaded with flashing cannons and weapons, will surround her on all sides. At that time who will protect India? Neither Hindus can save nor Mohammedans; neither the Rajputs nor my brothers the Pathans. And what will be the result? The result will be this-that foreigners will rule India, because the state of India is such that if foreign powers attack her, no one has the power to oppose them. From this reasoning it follows that of necessity an empire, not of any Indian race, but of foreigners, will be established in India. Now, will you please decide which of the nations of Europe you would like to rule over India? I ask if you would like Germany, whose subjects weep for heavy taxation and the stringency of their military service? Would you like the rule of France? Stop! I fancy you would, perhaps, like the rule of the Russians, who are very great friends of India and of Mohammedans, and under whom the Hindus will live in great comfort, and who will protect with the tenderest care the wealth and property which they have acquired under English rule? (Laughter) Everybody knows something or other about these powerful kingdoms of Europe. Everyone will admit that their governments are far worse, nay, beyond comparison worse, than the British Government. It is, therefore, necessary that for the peace of India and for the progress of everything in India the English Government should remain for many years—in fact for ever!

When it is granted that the maintenance of the British Government, and of no other, is necessary for the progress of our country, then I ask whether there is any example in the world of one nation having conquered and ruled over another nation, and that conquered nation claiming it as a right that they should have representative government? The principle of representative government is that it is government by a nation, and that the nation in question rules over its own people and its own land. Can you tell me of any case in the world's history in which any foreign nation after conquering another and establishing its empire over it has given representative government to the conquered people? Such a thing has never taken place. It is necessary for those who have conquered us to maintain their Empire on a strong basis. When rulers and ruled are one nation, representative government is possible. For example, in Afghanistan, of which Amir Abdur Rahman is the ruler, where all the people are brother-Afghans, it might be possible. If they want they can have representative government. But to think that representative government can be established in a country over which a foreign race rules, is utterly vain, nor can a trace of such a state of things be discovered in the history of the world. Therefore to ask that we should be appointed by election to the Legislative Council is opposed to the true principles of government, and no government whatever, whether English or German or French or Russian or Musalman, could accept this principle. The meaning of it is this: "Abandon the rule of the country and put it in our hands." Hence, it is in no way expedient that our nation should join in and echo these monstrous proposals.

The next question is about the budget. They say: "Give us power to vote on the budget. Whatever expenses we may grant shall be granted, whatever expenses we do not grant shall not be granted." Now, consider to what sort of government this principle is applicable. It is suited to such a country as is, according to the fundamental principles of politics, adapted also for representative government. The rulers and the ruled must be of the same nation. In such a country the people have also the right of deciding matters of peace and war. But this principle is not adapted to a country in which one foreign race has conquered another. The English have conquered India and all of us along with it. And just as we made the country obedient and our slave, so the English have done with us. Is it then

consistant with the principles of empire that they should ask us whether they should fight Burma or not? Is it consistent with any principle of empire? In the times of the Mohammedan empire, would it have been consistent with the principles of rule that, when the Emperor was about to make war on a Province of India, he should have asked his subject-peoples whether he should conquer that country or not? Whom should he have asked? Should he have asked those whom he had conquered and had made slaves and whose brothers he also wanted to make his slaves? Our nation has itself wielded empire, and people of our nation are even now ruling. Is there any principle of empire by which rule over foreign races may be maintained in this manner?

The right to give an opinion on the budget depends also on another principle, which is this: that in a country in which the people accept the responsibility for all the expenses of government, and are ready with their lives and property to discharge it,—in such a country they have a right to give their opinion on the Budget. They can say, "undertake this expense or leave that alone." And whatever the expense it is then their duty to pay it. For example, in England in a time of necessity the whole wealth and property of every one, from the Duke to the cobbler, is at the disposal of the Government. It is the duty of the people to give all their money and all their property to the Government, because they are responsible for giving Government all that it may require. And they say: "Yes, take it! Yes, take it. Spend the money. Beat the enemy. Beat the enemy." These are conditions under which people have a right to decide matters about the budget. The principle that underlies the Government of India is of a wholly different nature. In India, the Government has itself to bear the responsibility of maintaining its authority and it must, in the way that seems to it fittest, raise money for its army and for the expense of the empire. Government has a right to take a proportion of the produce of the land as land-revenue, and is like a contractor who bargains on this income to maintain the empire. It has not the power to increase the amount settled as land-revenue. However great its necessity, it cannot say to the Zamindars: "Increase your contribution." Nor do the Zamindars think that, even in a time of necessity. Government has any right to increase its fixed tax on

land. If at this time there were a war with Russia, would all the Zamindars and Taluqdars be willing to give double their assessment to Government? They would not give a pice more. Then what right have they to interfere and say: "So much should be spent and so much should not be spent?" The method of the British Government is that of all kings and Asiatic Empires. When you will not, even in time of war, give a pice more of your land-revenue, what right have you to interfere in the budget.

The real motive for scrutinising the budget is economy. Economy is a thing of such a nature that everyone has a regard for it in his household arrangements. It is a crude notion that Government has no regard for economy and squanders its money. Government practices economy as far as possible. Our Government is so extremely miserly that it will not uselessly give any one a single pice. Until great necessity arise and great pressure is brought to bear on it, it will not spend a pice. It has completely forgotten the generosity of the former Emperors. The Kings of later times presented poets and authors with estates and lakhs of rupees. Our Government does not spend a pice in that way. What greater economy can there be than this? Instead of rewards it gives authors copyright. That also it does after taking two rupees for registering. It writes a letter as a sanad, and says that, for forty years, no other man may print the book. Print it, sell it, and make your profit: this is a reward to you from Government.

People look at the income of the Government and say it is much greater than that of former empires, but they don't think of the expenses of Government and how much they have increased. In the old days, a sword of fifteen or twenty rupees, a gun of ten or fifteen rupees, a cardboard ammunition bag, and a coil of fuse was enough equipment for a soldier. Now look and see how the expenses of the army have increased in modern times, and what progress has been made in arms, and how they are daily improving, and the old becoming useless. If a new kind of gun or cannon be invented in France or Germany, is it possible for Government not to abandon all its old kinds of guns or cannons and adopt the new? When the expenses have grown so much, the wonder is how on earth Government manages to carry on its business on the small tax which it raises. (Cheers)

Perhaps many people will not like what I am going to say, but I will tell them openly a thing which took place. When after the Mutiny, the Hon'ble Mr. Wilson was Financial Minister, he brought forward a law for imposing a tax, and said in his speech that this tax would remain for five years only. An honourable English friend of mine showed me the speech and asked me if I liked it. I read it and said that I had never seen so foolish a Financial Minister as the Hon'ble Mr. Wilson. He was surprised. I said that it was wrong to restrict it to five years. The condition of India was such that it ought to be imposed for ever. Consider for a moment that Government has to protect its friends the Afghans, and their protection is necessary. It is necessary for Government to strengthen the frontier. If in England there had been any need for strengthening a frontier, then the people would themselves have doubled or trebled (sic) their taxes to meet the necessity. In Burma there are expenses to be borne, although we hope that in future it will be a source of income. If under such circumstance, Government increases the salt-tax by eight annas per maund, is this thing such that we ought to make complaints? If this increase of tax be spread over everybody it will not amount to half or quarter of a pice. On this to raise an uproar, to oppose Government, to accuse it of oppression—what utter nonsense and injustice! And in spite of this they claim the right to decide matters about the budget.

When it has been settled that the English Government is necessary, then it is useful for India that its rule should be established on the firmest possible basis. And it is desirable for Government that for its stability it should maintain an army of such a size as it may think expedient, with a proper equipment of officers; and that it should in every district appoint officials in whom it can place complete confidence, in order that if a conspiracy arises in any place they may apply the remedy. I ask you, is it the duty of Government or not to appoint European officers in its Empire to stop conspiracies and rebellions? Be just, and examine your hearts, and tell me if it is not a natural law that people should confide more in men of their own nation. If any Englishman tells you anything which is true, you remain doubtful. But when a man of your own nation, or your family, tells you a thing privately in your house, you believe it at once. What reason can you then give why Government, in the administration of so big an empire, should not appoint as custodians of secrets and as givers of every kind of information, men of her own nationality, but must leave all these matters to you, and say: "Do what you like?" These things which I have said are such necessary matters of State administration that, whatever nation may be holding the empire, they cannot be left out of sight. It is the business of a good and just Government, after having secured the above mentioned essentials, to give honour to the people of the land over which it rules, and to give them as high appointments as it can. But, in reality, there are certain appointments to which we can claim no right; we cannot claim the post of head executive authority in any zila. There are hundreds of secrets which Government cannot disclose. If Government appoint us to such responsible and confidential posts, it is her favour. We will certainly discharge the duties faithfully and without divulging her secrets. But it is one thing to claim it as a right and another for Government, believing us to be faithful and worthy of confidence, to give us the posts. Between these two things there is a difference as between Heaven and Earth. How can we possibly claim as a right those things on which the very existence and strength of the Government depends? We most certainly have not the right to put those people in the Council whom we want, and to keep out those whom we don't want, to pass those laws that we want, and to veto those laws that we dislike. If we have the right to elect members for the Legislative Council, there is no reason why we should not have the right to elect members for the Imperial Council. In the Imperial Council thousands of matters of foreign policy and State secrets are discussed. Can you with justice say that we Indians have a right to claim those things? To make an agitation for such things can only bring misfortune on us and on the country. It is opposed to the true principles of government. and is harmful for the peace of the country. The aspirations of our friends the Bengalis have made such progress that they want to scale a height to which it is beyond their powers to attain. But if I am not in error, I believe that the Bengalis have never at any period held sway over a particle of land. They are altogether ignorant of the method by which a foreign race can maintain its rule over other races. Therefore, reflect on the doings of your ancestors, and be not unjust to the British

Government to whom God has given the rule of India: and look honestly and see what is necessary for it to do to maintain its Empire and its hold on the country. You can appreciate these matters; but they cannot who have never held a country in their hands nor won a victory. Oh, my brother Musalmans! I again remind you that you have ruled nations, and have for centuries held different countries in your grasp. For seven hundred years in India you have had imperial sway. You know what it is to rule. Be not unjust to that nation which is ruling over you, and think also on this: how upright is her rule. Of such benevolence as the English Government shows to the foreign nations under her, there is no example in the history of the world. See what freedom she has given in her laws, and how careful she is to protect the rights of her subjects. She has not been backward in promoting the progress of the natives of India and in throwing open to them high appointments. At the commencement of her rule, except clerkships and kaziships there was nothing. The kazis of the pargana, who were called commissioners, decided small civil suits and received very small pay. Up to 1832 or 1833 this state of things lasted. If my memory is not wrong, it was in the time of Lord William Bentinck that natives of India began to get honourable posts. The positions of Munsif, Subordinate Judge and Deputy Collector on respectable pay were given to natives, and progress has been steadily going on ever since. In the Calcutta High Court a Kashmiri Pandit was first appointed, equal to the English Judges. After him Bengalis have been appointed as High Court Judges. At this time there are, perhaps, three Bengalis in the Calcutta High Court, and in the same way some Hindus in Bombay and Madras. It was your bad fortune that there was for a long time no Mohammedan High Court Judge, but now there is one in the Allahabad High Court. (Cheers) Native High Court Judges can cancel the decision of English Judges and Collectors. They can ask them for explanations. The subordinate native officers also have full authority in their posts. A Deputy Collector, a Sub-Judge, or a Munsif decides cases according to his opinion, and is independent of the opinion of the Judge or Collector. None of these things have been acquired by fighting or opposition. As far as you have made yourselves worthy of the confidence of Government, to that extent you have received high positions. Make yourselves

her friends and prove to her that your friendship with her is like that of English and the Scotch. After this what you have to claim, claim—on condition that you are qualified for it.

About this political controversy, in which my Hindu brothers of this province, to whom I have given some advice, and who have, I think, joined from some wrong notions, have taken part, I wish to give some advice to my Mohammedan brothers. I do not think the Bengali politics useful for my brother Musalmans. Our Hindu brothers of these provinces are leaving us and are joining the Bengalis. Then we ought to unite with that nation with whom we can unite. No Mohammedan can say that the English are not "people of the Book." No Mohammedan can deny this: that God has said that no people of other religions can be friends of Mohammedans except the Christians. He who had read the Koran and believes it can know that our nation cannot expect friendship and affection from my other people. (Thou shalt surely find the most violent of all men in enmity against the true believers to be the jews and the idolators: and thou shalt surely find those among them to be the most inclinable to entertain friendship for the true believers, who say "we are Christians." Koran, Chap. V.) At this time our nation is in a bad state as regards education and wealth, but God has given us the light of religion, and the Koran is present for our guidance, which has ordained them and us to be friends. Now God has made them rulers over us. Therefore we should cultivate friendship with them, and should adopt that method by which their rule may remain permanent and firm in India, and may not pass into the hands of the Bengalis. This is our true friendship with our Christian rulers, and we should not join those people who wish to see us thrown into a ditch. If we join the political movement of the Bengalis our nation will reap loss, for we do not want to become subjects of the Hindus instead of the subjects of the "people of the Book." And as far as we can we should remain faithful to the English Government. By saying this I don't mean that I am inclined towards their religion. Perhaps no one has written such severe books as I have against their religion, of which I am an enemy. But whatever their religion, God has called men of that religion our friends. We ought not on account of their religion but because of the order of God to be friendly and faithful to them.

If our Hindu brothers of these Provinces, and the Bengalis of Bengal, and the Brahmans of Bombay, and the Hindu Madrasis of Madras wish to separate themselves from us, let them go, and trouble vourself about it not one white. We can mix with the English in a social way. We can eat with them, they can eat with us. Whatever hope we have of progress is from them. The Bengalis can in no way assist our progress. And when the Koran itself directs us to be friends with them, then there is no reason why we should not be their friends. But it is necessary for us to act as God has said. Besides this, God has made them rulers over us. Our Prophet has said that if God places over you a black negro slave as ruler you must obey him. See, there is here in the meeting a European Mr. Beck. He is not black. He is very white. (Laughter) Then why should we not be obedient and faithful to those white-faced men whom God has put over us, and why should we disobey the order of God?

I do not say that in the British Government all things are good. Nobody can say that there is any Government in the world, or has ever been, in which there is nothing bad, be that Government Mohammedan, Hindu, or Christian. There is now the Sultan of Turkey, who is a Mohammedan Emperor, and of whom we are proud. Even his Mohammedan Subjects make complaints of his government. This is the condition of the Khedive of Egypt. Look at the Governments of Europe, and examine the condition of the Government of London itself. Thousands of men complain against Government. There is no Government with which everybody is satisfied.

If we also have some complaints against the English Government, it is no wonderful thing. People are not even grateful to God for His government. I do not tell you to ask nothing from Government. I will myself fight on your behalf for legitimate objects. But ask for such things as they can give you, or such things to which, having due regard to the administration of the country, you can claim a right. If you ask for such things as Government cannot give you, then it is not the fault of Government, the folly of the askers. But what you ask, do it not in this fashion: that you accuse Government in every action of oppression, abuse the highest official, use the hardest words you can find for Lord Lytton and Lord Dufferin call all Englishmen tyrants, and blacken columns on columns of newspapers with

these subjects. You can gain nothing this way. God had made them your rulers. This is the will of God. We should be content with the will of God. And, in obedience to the will of God you should remain friendly and faithful to them. Do not do this: bring false accusations against them and give birth to enmity. This is neither wisdom nor in accordance with our holy religion.

Therefore the method we ought to adopt is this, that we should hold ourselves aloof from this political uproar and reflect on our condition, that we are behind them in education and are deficient in wealth. Then we should try to improve the education of our nation. Now our condition is this, that the Hindus, if they wish, can ruin us in an hour. The internal trade is entirely in their hands. The external trade is in possession of the English. Let the trade which is with the Hindus remain with them. But try to snatch from their hands the trade in the produce of the country which the English now enjoy and draw profit from. Tell them: "Take no further trouble. We will ourselves take the leather of our country to England and sell it there. Leave off picking up the bones of our country's animals. We will ourselves collect them and take them to America. Do not fill ships with the corn and cotton of our country. We will fill our own ships and will take it ourselves to Europe!" Never imagine that Government will put difficulties in your way in trade. But the acquisition of all these things depends on education. When you shall have fully acquired education, and true education shall have made its home in your hearts, then you will know what rights you can legitimately demand of the British Government. And the result of this will be that you will also obtain honourable positions in the Government, and will acquire wealth in the higher ranks of trade. But to make friendship with the Bengalis in their mischievous political proposals, and join in them, can bring only harm. If my nation follows my advice they will draw benefit from trade and education. Otherwise, remember that Government will keep a very sharp eye on you because you are very quarrelsome, very brave, great soldiers and great fighters.

Chapter 3

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS II*

The National Congress, which the Bengalis and some others have made, has been thoroughly discussed throughout India. In Bengal, Behar, Oudh, the North-West Provinces, the Punjab, Bombay and Madras influential and distinguished Mohammedans and large general meetings have expressed extreme antagonism to the movement: and have stated their conviction that the Congress, and its objects, and its methods, by which hatred and hostility to the Government stirred up in the ignorant masses, are in the highest degree dangerous for Government, for the country, and for the preservation of peace. Influential and distinguished Hindu gentlemen of these Provinces have expressed their agreement with Mohammedans in these views. In Oudh the men of real influence, the Talukdars, both Hindu and Mohammedan, have united in refusing to join the movement, and in stating their opposition to its objects. His Highness the Maharaja of Benares, Maharaja of the most sacred city of the Hindus, has, in a large meeting attended by all the most respectable Hindu gentlemen of that town, expressed thorough-going and uncompromising hostility to the Congress. There have recently been two large meetings of Mohammedans in Bombay. In one of them His Highness Agha Akbar Shah was president. The other was held at the house of Mr. Mahomed Ali Rogay. Both of them passed resolutions condemning the Congress and declining to join it.

Besides these reasons of general nature the most thoughtful and influential Mohammedans have stated their belief that the

^{*}Letter to the Editor of the Pioneer.

proposals of the Congress would be extremely prejudicial to the interests of Mohammedans, not only in their present conditions, but also in the future, however much their education might have advanced; and that these proposals would seriously endanger the preservation of order. If the measures of the Congress be carried into effect the disturbances of the peace will be so great that it is impossible to prophesy its extent. It will be no wonder if such events occur as the imagination cannot picture. What surprise if the Government of India be obliged to substitute a military for a civil administration?

In India all people—the officials and the public—are well aware of the opposition that has been raised by Hindus and Mohammedans to the Congress. But the supporters of the Congress are trying by wrong means to create a false impression in England that the whole of the people of India, Hindu and Mohammedan, are in its favour. Hence it is necessary for us to inform the people of England that the Mohammedans and many influential and powerful Hindus are opposed to it. It is therefore desirable that an association be formed of those Hindus and Mohammedans who are opposed to the Congress. Every member of this association, which will be called The Indian Patriotic Association, should pay a subscription of five rupees per month, and a request will also be made for donations from those who are inclined further to help the movement. But those who would consider so much subscription too heavy can pay at least one rupee per month or rupees twelve for one year in advance.

The business of this association will be to inform the people of England of the real condition of India by printing pamphlets from time to time. Several thousand copies of each pamphlet will be sent to London to be distributed among members of Parliament, editors of newspapers, etc., and will be circulated by means of an agency, arrangements for which have already been made. If besides Hindus and Mohammedans, any Englishmen wish to join the association, we shall be extremely grateful to them for their assistance. But no Government servants, whether Hindu, Mohammedan or English, can be accepted as a member of the association. Those gentlemen who wish to join this association should send their names either to Munshi Imtiaz Ali, or Munshi Nawal Kishore, C.I.E., at Lucknow, to

Raja Shiva Prasad, C.S.I., at Benares, to Syed Zahur Hussein, Pleader. High Court, at Allahabad, to Mr. Theodore Beck or the undersigned at Aligarh. A list of names, with subscriptions and donations, will be published.

Aligarh 8th August, 1888 Syed Ahmed

Chapter 4

OPEN LETTER TO BADRUDDIN TYABII*

I read in the Pioneer dated April 2nd, a letter from my distinguished friend Mr. Badruddin Tyabji, about the National Congress. I think it fit that I should myself write a reply to it, and I ask you to be so good as to give it a place in your valuable columns. I was very glad to learn that when my distinguished friend honoured the Madras Congress by becoming its President, he "rigidly excluded all questions which were merely of a provincial character, or in regard to which the three Presidencies were practically agreed, or where the Hindus were opposed to the Mussalmans as a body, or vice-versa." On my own behalf and on behalf of very many of our mutual co-religionists I thank him for this proceeding. I also agree with him in this—"that the Congress could not be rightly termed a National Congress where any particular resolution could be carried against the unanimous protest of either the Hindu or Mussalman delegate." But I go further: I first of all object to the word "delegate". I assure my friend that of the Mohammedans who went from the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, there is not one to whom the word "delegate" can be applied. I know well the condition of my own Province. Not ten Mohammedans came together to elect any one of those Mohammedans who went. In those districts from which they went they were not among the Raises and influential Mohammedans, nor among the middle classes, ten men who knew what the National Congress was, nor who had elected whom. Four days ago, a Mohammedan of liberal views, who went to Madras as a delegate,

^{*}Letter to the Editor of Pioneer dated April 9, 1888.

boasted that his glory lay in this: that the Hindus, and not the Mohammedans, had elected him. Then how inappropriate and absurd to apply the word "delegate" to Mohammedans under such circumstances? Secondly, I object to the implication that the only condition under which the Congress cannot be termed "national" is if any resolution be carried against the unanimous protest of either the Hindu or the Mohammedan members. The fact of any resolution being carried unanimously does not make the Congress a "national" one. A Congress can only be called "national" when the ultimate aims and objects of the people of which it is composed are identical. My distinguished friend himself admits that some of the aims and objects of Mohammedans are different from those of Hindus, while some are similar; and he desires that the Congress should put aside those in which they differ and confine itself to those in which they agree. But under these circumstances how can the Congress be a National Congress? Moreover, my friend has not pointed out what plan both sides should adopt for accomplishing those aims on which Hindus and Mohammedans differ. Should Mohammedans and Hindus each have their own Congress for their special objects in which they differ from one another? If so, as their aims are conflicting and contradicting, these two Congresses will go on fighting each other to the death; but when they meet in that Congress which my friends call the National Congress, they will then say: "No doubt you are my nation; no doubt you are my brother; no doubt your aims and my aims are one. How do you do, my brother? Now we are united on one point."

I ask my friends honestly to say whether out of two such nations whose aims and objects are different, but who happen to agree in some small points, a "National" Congress can be created? No. In the name of God—No. I thank my friend for inducing the twelve Standing Committees to sanction the rule "that any subject to which the Mussalman delegates object, unanimously or nearly unanimously, must be excluded from all discussion in the Congress." But I again object to the word "delegate", and would suggest that instead of that word be substituted "Mussalman taking part in the Congress." But if this principle which he has laid down in his letter and on which he acted when President, be fully carried out, I wonder what there will be left for the Congress to discuss. Those questions on which

Hindus and Mohammedans can unite, and on which they ought to unite, and concerning which it is my earnest desire that they should unite, are social questions. We are both desirous that peace should reign in the country, that we two nations should live in a brotherly manner, that we should help and sympathise with one another, that we should bring pressure to bear, each on his own people, to prevent the arising of religious quarrels, that we should improve our social condition, and that we should try to remove that animosity which is every day increasing between the two communities. The questions on which we can agree are purely social. If the Congress had been made for these objects, then I would myself have been its President, and relieved my friend from the troubles which he incurred. But the Congress is a political Congress, and there is no one of its fundamental principles, and especially that one for which it was in reality founded, to which Mohammedans are not opposed.

We may be right or we may be wrong; but there is no Mohammedan, from the shoemaker to the Rais who would like that the ring of slavery should be put on us by that other nation with whom we live. Although in the present time we have fallen to a very low position, and there is every probability we shall sink daily lower (especially when even our friend Badruddin Tyabji thinks it an honour to be President of the Congress), and certainly we shall be contented with our destiny, yet we cannot consent to work for our own fall. I ask my friend Badruddin Tyabji to leave aside those insignificant points in the proposals of the Congress in which Hindus and Mohammedans agree (for there are no things in the world which have no points in common—there are many things in common between a man and a pig), and to tell me what fundamental political principles of the Congress are not opposed to the interests of Mohammedans. The first is that members of the Viceroy's Council should be chosen by election, on which stress was laid in the recent Congress of Madras, over which our friend Badruddin Tyabji presided. I proved in my Lucknow speech that whatever system of election be adopted, there will be four times as many Hindus as Mohammedans, and all their demands will be gratified, and the power of legislation over the whole country will be in the hands of Bengalis or of Hindus of the Bengali type, and the Mohammedans will fall into a condition of utmost degradation. Many

people have heaped curses and abuses on me on account of my Lucknow speech; but no one, not even my friend Badruddin Tyabji, has answered it. Whether the Bengali demands be right or wrong. I do not like to see my nation fall into this degraded condition; and at any rate I do not wish to join in proposals which will have this result. If I were not afraid of making this letter too long, I would discuss all the principles of the Congress in detail, and point out that they are all opposed to the interests of Mohammedans, and would bring them loss. But I will state briefly that as a general rule all political questions which can be discussed are dangerous and prejudicial to the interests of Mohammedans, and that they should take part in no political Congress. Leaving this aside, it is not expedient that Mohammedans should take part in proceedings like that of the Congress, which holds meetings in various places in which people accuse Government before crowds of common men of withholding their rights from her subjects, and the result of which can only be that ignorant and foolish men will believe Government to be tyrannical or at least unjust. They will suffer greater misfortunes from doing so than the Hindus and the Bengalis. What took place in the Mutiny? The Hindus began it; the Mohammedans with their eager disposition rushed into it. The Hindus having bathed in the Ganges became as they were before. But the Mohammedans and all their noble families were ruined. This is the result which will befall Mohammedans from taking part in political agitation.

In America first this kind of political agitation began. By degrees the minds of men grew more excited. The last words which came from their mouths were "no taxation without representation". Let those people who have the strength to say and act on these words join the Congress and the political agitation. If they join it without this strength, it is but the clapping of impotent hands. We have not that strength. The Bengalis and those obscure Mohammedans who joined it at Madras may possess such strength. For them it may be a blessing; but the participation in it by our nation would be for us a curse.

The Formation of an All-India Muslim Organization

Chapter 5

NAWAB SALIMULLAH'S SCHEME FOR A MUSLIM CONFEDERACY

Nawab Salimullah of Dacca, was the person who took the first concrete steps towards establishing a Muslim organization. In November 1906, he circulated a scheme for the formation of the Muslim All-India Confederacy. The scheme was the embryo from which the Muslim League emerged. The relevant text of Nawab Salimullah Khan's letter is as follows:

- 1. This day being the birthday of His Majesty our most gracious King Emperor, I think it an auspicious for me to-day to place before my Mohammedan brethren my views on the project of our Muslim All-India Confederacy.
- 2. Owing to my inability to attend the All-India Mohammedan Deputation to His Excellency the Viceroy at Simla, I penned a few notes for the information of my brother delegates on the advisability of forming a Central Mohammedan Association for all India, which could bring into touch the aims and aspiration of our community throughout the country.
- 3. These notes were, I learnt, discussed at an informal meeting of those present at Simla and it was proposed, without coming to any definite resolution, that the matter should be finally settled at the All-India Mohammedan Educational Conference at Dacca during the Christmas week next December, and in the meantime the scheme, as drafted, may be submitted for discussions to all our various Mohammedan associations and societies, as well as to those

- pre-eminent amongst our co-religionists, for their collective and individual opinion and advice.
- 4. I have, therefore, in view of the discussion that took place at Simla, enlarged these notes, and now submit them to our Association, friends and co-religionists in the various parts of the country, as well as to the press for favour of bona fide, honest and fearless discussion, which may lead us to a modus operandi for the establishment of an institution of the character I propose should be formed. I shall, therefore, feel obliged to those associations which will be sending their delegates and those gentlemen representing their provinces who will be pleased to attend the Conference at Dacca, if these gentlemen come fully authorized to express the views of the associations and provinces, so that our deliberations, as much as possible, may voice of the whole Muslim community.
- 5. From the information I received, I find the majority of those present at the informal meeting, as well as others consulted at Simla, were in favour of a central All-India association of the kind sketched out by me in my notes; but I desire that every consideration should be paid to the views of the minority, so that after full deliberation, those whom we may not for the present succeed in fully getting into agreement with us, will nevertheless merge their individual difference and heartily co-operate with the majority for the common good of Islam and our community.
- 6. It was hinted by some that there was no necessity for any such Central Association, inasmuch as it would cripple and starve the local associations, and instead of a central association, local associations should be formed where none at present exist. But if anything, a central association of the kind I propose will be the very medium of starting, where none is in existence, and fostering a local association, or the necessity for the same being established. While a very few seem to have fear that a central association of the kind we want would interfere with such a centre of Mohammedan life as is now bound up with the Aligarh College and Institute, one of the chief principles of its noble founder, laid down for our guidance, being to avoid all politics. But while the central association will, I trust, be the means

of not only enlarging the usefulness and scope of the Aligarh College, it will be able, I hope, to find time to establish institutions in each province on lines laid down by the Aligarh College. While as regards politics there can be no question that, unless we desire to be left back in the race for life, we must march with the times. The noble foundations of the Aligarh College were laid 25 years ago and the institute has achieved its purpose but to keep up its ability and usefulness, we have to enter into the next stage of our political life of the country and nation; and I only desire that full and earnest consideration may be given by my coreligionists to the scheme which has claimed my attention for some time, and to such other schemes as may be submitted for our consideration, so that we may come, after full deliberation, to something that will advance the wellbeing of our community.

7. The necessity of a Central Association: To the majority of my countrymen, I believe, the necessity of a central association is fully established; the key-note of it was struck by our All India Deputation to the Viceroy where in the address we have stated as follows: Still it cannot be denied that we Mohammedans are a distinct community with additional interests of our own, which are not shared by other communities, and these have suffered from the fact that they have not been adequately represented.

And it is hardly possible that these additional interests, peculiarly our own, can be safeguarded and protected unless there is a central authority to which the Government can look for aid and advice, and it would not be out of place to quote here the remarks of the Times of India. In its article on the Mohammedan Deputation to the Viceroy it states, "it may be hoped that one result of the unity of feelings thus aroused amongst Muslims will be that they will be able to express, from time to time, as occasion requires, the views of the community which is in many respects distinct, with, as the Memorial said, additional interests of its own which are not shared by any other community." The Times of India foreshadows what is really being felt by thoughtful members of our community: that the authorities are getting bewildered owing to the multiplicity

of Muslim associations now coming into existence, and our young men, in various parts of the country, assuming to speak on behalf of the whole Muslim community of India. and on many occasions, which I need not here mention, in direct opposition and conflict to each other. I am aware of several instances wherein untold mischief has occurred through irresponsible Mohammedan gentlemen, and associations sprung up and were created by some (who really at heart have no regard for our community) for the sole purpose of establishing their own political importance, addressing Government and the public, without anyone to question their right to do so...of course Government cannot refuse to receive any representation from any corporate body or individual, however distinguished or undistinguished they or he may be, yet such representation fails to carry weight owing to the authorities not knowing how far the views contained therein are consonant with the views of the Muslim community as a whole. And even when such views are adopted by the authorities, they fail in receiving respectful concurrence from the Muslim in general, as being the views of only some particular associations or individuals, and more or less misleading, thereby causing much harm to the Muslim community as a whole. Hence if there were an All-India association of the kind I propose, Government will be able to refer to it all such representations as may be received by the authorities, to ascertain the views of the community in general before finally passing orders thereon; and there will then be no danger of any party or parties misrepresenting the facts to serve individual interests.

8. The Aims and objects of the Association: It is absolutely necessary that the aims and objects of the Association should be definitely stated; and although I am sure I shall not receive any hearty support from some of my co-religionists, yet I for one honestly believe that the time has come when, if the Association is to be a force and power for good, it must at the very outset lay down its policy and object and I would do so as follows:

That the sole object and purpose of the Association shall be, whenever possible, to support all measures emanating

- from the Government and to protect the cause and advance ment of the interest of our co-religionists throughout the country.
- 9. How this is to be done I show below: Name: A suitable name is one of the greatest desiderata of an institution such as we contemplate, and after a careful consideration of several appellations, I think, The Mohammedan All-India Confederacy would suit us best, as the Association would be the mouth-piece of all the various Muslim institutions, social, religious and political, as well as of the leading men throughout the country, who will have allied themselves together for the one common object of protecting the interests and advancing the cause of their co-religionists.

The Object or Raison D'etre: (a) To controvert the growing influence of the so-called Indian National Congress, which has a tendency to misinterpret and subvert the British Rule in India, or which may lead to that deplorable situation, and (b) to enable our young men of education, who for want of such an association, have joined the Congrese Camp, to find scope to exercise their fitness and ability for public life.

10. From the trend of the discussion in Simla, there is, I believe, disinclination to state our object and reason in this bold and blunt manner, as it will, it is contended, arouse the ire and anger of our Hindu brethren. But I think that time has come when we must no longer mind matters—we must not stand upon a sentiment-it is mere sentiment that is causing such havoc and misery in the present partition of Bengal. And the question that we, the Mohammedans, must honestly discuss and decide is whether the policy now openly declared by those who are termed 'extremists' is one conductive to the maintenance of the British Raj; and if, as we must hold, it is not, we must then consider whether those gentlemen forming the 'Extremist Party' do or do not form part and parcel of Indian National Congress, and unless and Congress is an open and public assembly, and by a resolution disassociates itself from the views of this party, we Mohammedans cannot countenance or be associated with the Congress. We are sorry, but cannot deny that the co-called Indian National Congress has become a potent voice in the counsels of the country. We must therefore, as true and loyal subjects of the British Raj, do our utmost to controvert and thwart that influence which it has attained, when we find it working for the destruction of all that we hold dear.....

There is no doubt that many of our young educated Mohammedans find themselves shoved off the line of official preferment and promotion, unless they join, or at least show sympathy with the Congress Party. All our Mohammedan newspapers are full of the cry that there is now-adays not the same dearth of Mohammedan graduates and under-graduates as before, but they are passed over (in fact this was pointedly alluded to in the All-India address to the Viceroy) on the ground that they do not come up 'to the Government standard of efficiency'. The Executive Committee of the Confederacy will be in constant communication with all the local associations, and will watch the career of our promising young men, who will no longer look to the Congress for their advancement in life.¹

Chapter 6

THE INAUGURAL SESSION OF ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

Dacca, December 30, 1906

When the 20th Session of the All-India Mohammedan Educational Conference was over, the delegates assembled in the Pandal on December 30th to discuss the formation of a political organization of the Muslims. The gathering was as large as it was representative. The Pandal was overcrowded in spite of the fact that the majority of visitors from other parts of India were to leave Dacca by midday special for Calcutta, and the meeting was unavoidably late by an hour. The time for the formal discussion was short, but informal discussion had been going on for the last four days in the Conference Camp, in which every word of the resolutions to be brought forward for adoption had been discussed and rediscussed several times. At 9 a.m. the Hon'ble Nawab Salim-ul-lah Bahadur of Dacca rose to propose the election of the Chairman. He said:

Gentlemen, you all know the reason of our assembling here in such large numbers from every nook and corner of India. I need not therefore reiterate the purpose of this Meeting. I have however, to thank you for the trouble you have taken to come all this long way We have to elect a Chairman for to-day's deliberations, and I think our choice cannot be improved upon if I suggest for your approval the distinguished name of Nawab Mushtaq-ul-Mulk (sic) who was one of the leading statesmen of Hyderabad, where he had served the Government of the Premier Chief, H.H. the Nizam, so ably and righteously. Even during his tenure of office there he had devoted his energies to

the educational progress of his co-religionists, and since his retirement he had wholly given himself up to the work of the community, both in education and politics. He was the moving spirit of the Political Association that was agreed to be formed in 1901, and in my opinion, and I believe in the opinion of all of us assembled here, nobody would be a fitter Chairman than the venerable Mushtaq-ul-Mulk Bahadur (meaning Nawab Viqal-ul-Mulk, Maulvi Mushtaq Husain Bahadur).

Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque, then spoke as follows:

I am sure you do not expect me to say much in seconding this proposal. I would only add that the young men are thirsting for the fight, and so it is most necessary that the leaders should be old and experienced veterans who could properly regulate the exuberant energies of youth. And who could be more qualified to do this than the venerable Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur. We are therefore as well seeking a good omen for the future, as stamping our deliberations to-day with the stamp of sanity and sobriety, in electing the old Nawab as our Chairman.

The motion was then put to the vote and unanimously carried, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk taking the Chair amidst loud applause. The Chairman then rose to make the inaugural speech. He said:

I have no words with which to thank you for the honour you have done me in electing me as your Chairman to-day. The place could have well been filled by many others in the community who are present here, but now that you have commanded me to fill it, I can only obey your wishes and discharge the duties of a Chairman of such an assembly to the best of my powers. I have, however, to thank the Hon'ble Nawab Salimul-lah Bahadur of Dacca specially, for the title which he has unconsciously given to me. I have my doubts about being Viqarul-Mulk or 'the pride of the country', but I can assure you I am, as I have always been, 'Mushtaq-ul-Mulk' or 'the lover of my country'. The us old men creeping every day nearer and nearer to our graves, what is left to do, but to be Mushtaq-ul-Mulk and Mushtaq-ul-Qaum, lovers of our country and lovers of our

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race¹. I feel that the unwitting recognition of my love of my people, for which I have to thank my Hon'ble friend the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, is my greatest claim to fill the chair you are now offering me. May I long deserve this title.

I believe you all know what you have come to discuss. As this deliberation on political questions will be a free one, I trust no person who is a Government servant will take part in it, as the tie which binds him to the Government precludes the possibility of our regarding him free in the sense in which non-official members of any community can be. Moreover, the discussion of such grave problems requires maturity and experience on the part of us all, so that young men who are still in school and college cannot be expected to offer to us a fair share of either. At the present stage of their lives they should learn and not teach. They should therefore not be encouraged to leave the hard task of mastering things for the more pleasant one perhaps, of dictating to others. When they have graduated and stepped into the arena of the world, we shall welcome their participation, but not yet. So, if there is any gentleman present here who is a Government servant, he should withdraw, and if he is a student in a college or school, I shall request him not to come forward to participate actually in this discussion.

Gentlemen, that which has drawn us here to-day is not a need which has only now been felt by us. When the National Congress was founded in India, the need had even then been felt, and the late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, to whose foresight and statesmanship Musalmans should always be grateful, had made great endeavours to impress upon Musalmans the belief that their safety and prosperity lay in their keeping aloof from the Congress. This view has been proved to be so far right that though Sir Syed Ahmed Khan is no more among us, the Mohammedans are still firm in that belief, and as time passes they will feel more and more that, in order to protect and advance their political rights and interests, it will be necessary for them to form their own separate organization. Five years ago, in October 1901, some Musalmans from various provinces had assembled at Lucknow, and, after careful consideration of the

^{1.} The term 'race' is here and hereafter used in the sense of 'qaum' or 'millat', not in the racial or ethnic sense. Elsewhere the Arabic term is also translated as 'people', 'nation' or 'community'.

matter, they had come to the conclusion that the time for the formation of such an organization had come, and consequently the work of organizing such a body in the United Provinces was going on when new events followed close upon each other in Bengal; and impressed by the commotion caused by the direct and indirect influence of the National Congress, and finding that the Government intended to increase the representative element in its Legislative Councils, Musalmans, as a community, sent a Deputation to the Viceroy to Simla last October, and represented their needs, and the disadvantages under which their community had been labouring, before His Excellency. All these proceedings, together with the Viceroy's reply to the Deputation, have already been fully reported in the press and made familiar to the country. I need not allude to them in detail now. On that occasion, those representatives of the community who had assembled as members of the deputation had, after a careful consideration of the ways and means by which the political rights and interests of their co-religionists could be permanently safeguarded, decided that in December next, delegates from different provinces should be asked to assemble at Dacca and discuss this momentous question. In the meantime, the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca had framed a scheme for the same purpose and circulated it for our consideration. To-day we have assembled here to settle finally the lines of action in a question the settlement of which has so long been postponed.

Before I proceed with the work we have in hand to-day, I feel it necessary to say that, no matter what the general principles of British administration may be, and no matter what rights may be vouchsafed by the generosity and love of justice of the British nation to its Indian subjects, we who have not yet forgotten the tradition of our own recent rule in India and elsewhere, and are more intimately acquainted than other communities of India with the proper relations which should subsist between the Government and its subjects, should accept it as a rule of our conduct that the plant of the political rights of a subject race thrives best in the soil of loyalty, and consequently the Musalmans should prove themselves loyal to their Government before they can ask for a recognition of any of their rights. The Musalmans are only a fifth in number as compared with the total population of the country, and it is manifest that if at

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any remote period the British Government ceases to exist in India, then the rule of India would pass into the hands of that community which is nearly four times as large as ourselves.

Now, gentlemen, let each of you consider what will be your condition if such a situation is created in India. Then, our life, our property, our honour, and our faith will all be in great danger. When even now that a powerful British administration is protecting its subjects, we the Musalmans have to face most serious difficulties in safeguarding our interests from the grasping hands of our neighbours, instances of which are not rare in any province or district, then woe betide the time when we become the subjects of our neighbours, and answer to them for the sins, real and imaginary, of Aurangzeb, who lived and died two centuries ago, and other Musalman conquerors and rulers who went before him. And to prevent the realization of such aspirations on the part of our neighbours, the Musalmans cannot find better and surer means than to congregate under the banner of Great Britain, and to devote their lives and property in its protection. I must confess, gentlemen, that we shall not be loyal to this Government for any unselfish reasons; but that it is through regard for our own lives and property, our own honour and religion, that we are impelled to be faithful to the Government; and consequently the best security for our good faith is the undoubted fact that our own prosperity is bound up with, and depends upon our loyalty to British rule in India. I shall be the last person, gentlemen, to suspect our neighbours of civil intentions, but I do not hesitate in declaring that unless the leaders of the Congress make sincere efforts as speedily as possible, to quell the hostility against the Government and the British race, which is fast increasing in a large body of their followers, the necessary consequence of all that is being openly done and said to-day will be that sedition would be rampant, and the Musalmans of India would be called upon to perform the necessary duty of combating this rebellious spirit, side by side with the British Government, more effectively than by the mere use of words.

It is however our duty towards our neighbours that as far as our influence may reach and our persuation may work, we must prevent our friends and neighbours from going on the wrong path, and as their neighbours it is always one of our first

duties to deal with them with fairness and courtesy and, without prejudice to our legitimate rights and interests, to carry on with them an intimate social intercourse, maintain our sympathy, and strictly avoid all forms of hostility towards them. I would go even a step further, and impress upon you, gentlemen, that there is no quarrel between us and the National Congress and Congress people, nor do we oppose or disagree with every one of their acts and views. Indeed we are thankful to them for the efforts which they have made in causes common to us both, and procured certain advantages in which they and we have equally shared, and it is quite possible that we may regard in the future a part of their programme is perfectly justified. All the differences that now exist between us and them, or shall exist at a future date, must fall under one or other of three heads. Either they will relate to those demands of theirs which, if granted, would endanger the continuance of British rule in India; or they will relate to those efforts of theirs which are directed against our own legitimate interests; or they will fall under the head of that want of moderation and respect which are due from the subjects to their sovereign. And this leads me to say that we must bear in mind that moderation and respectfulness shall have to be the essential characteristics of any political organization which the Musalmans assembled here to-day would form.

I cannot help recalling the pleasure which I experienced when, in reply to the Address of the Musalmans' deputation to the Viceroy, of which I had the honour to be a member, His Excellency said that Musalmans of Eastern Bengal had behaved with remarkable moderation and courtesy under the most trying circumstances, and I have to congratulate the Hon'ble Nawab Salim-ul-lah Bahadur of Dacca and the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Syed Nawab Ali Chowdhury on a result so eminently successful, which was brought about by their own efforts and the great influence they wield in Eastern Bengal: and we can all rely that this influence will be used in the future, as it has been in the past, on the side of moderation, law, justice and courtesy.

The Chairman then called upon the Nawab of Dacca to move the first Resolution:

RESOLUTION I

Resolved that this meeting, composed of Musalmans from all parts of India, assembled at Dacca, decide that a Political Association be formed, styled All India Muslim League, for the furtherance of the following objects:

- (a) To promote, among the Musalmans of India, feelings of loyalty to the British Government, and to remove any misconception that may arise as to the intention of Government with regard to any of its measures.
- (b) To protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Musalmans of India, and to respectfully represent their needs and aspirations to the Government.
- (c) To prevent the rise, among the Musalmans of India, of any feeling of hostility towards other communities, without prejudice to the other aforementioned objects of the League.

In moving this Resolution Nawab Salim-ul-lah Bahadur of Dacca spoke as follows:

You who have assembled here in a remote corner of the country, not very easy of access, after having travelled many hundreds of miles from every part of India, drawn by some great impulse, do not need to be told by me in any detail that there exists a special necessity at this moment for an increased political activity on the part of us all. Whosoever is in touch with the affairs of this country and our community must feel the thrill of new life which has, as if by magic, galvanized our community. India seems to be on the eve of a new era of public life, and the Mohammedans who suffered so far from a kind of suspended animation, feel to-day the revivifying effect of a general awakening.

To a casual observer it may appear that we have only just made a start in public life; and those who do not bear us much goodwill have sometimes paid us the compliment of regarding us as mere automations, and attributed this show of new activity to the wire-pulling of others. But those who have studied our affairs more closely will not regard the new movement as a first start, so much as a turning of a corner of the course. It was

only last evening that we wound up the work of the 20th session of our Educational Conference, and if the earlier efforts of the late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan be taken into account, our present activity is but a natural development of the work begun nearly half a century ago. As regards the suggestion that this new phase of our public activity is due to external causes, I must admit a confession is due from the Mohammedans of India. It is certainly due in part to the trend of events over which we had little control; but this is no more than saying that if there is any one at all to blame, it is not we who are to blame for this general commotion among the Mohammedans. Our new activity is only like the increased vigilance of the police in a district where disregard for the laws of property is fast spreading. Had the party now in power in England been familiar with the position and rights of the Mohammedans of India, and had those among our countrymen who have hitherto been taking a prominent part in the public life of this country been consistently just in asking for the allotment of their respective shares to the various communities of India, it is not improbable that the League which it is now proposed to form would not have been heard of for a long time, if at all; and that we would have gone on pursuing the traditional policy of our people and attending solely to our educational needs. But it is manifest that gross ignorance prevails in England regarding the real condition of India, and only those have a chance of being heard at that distance who cry the loudest in this country. Quiet and unobtrusive work is at a discount: and much as any other method than what has hitherto been associated with us may be disagreeable to our community, we are forced to adopt that which is most effective in the realization of our aims. Similarly, it is noticeable that the interests of the minority have often been disregarded by a pushing majority, if not deliberately, then through oversight, or as I think, through the natural desire of the majority to work for those interests which are nearest and dearest to it, namely, its own. It is quite possible that our friends, the Hindus, may repudiate any suggestion of such disregard of our interests, but you, gentlemen, who have come to Eastern Bengal, unprejudiced and unbiassed, nay in many cases even sceptical of the facts as represented by myself and others who aired a grievance, have been, I am assured, convinced in the most

practical manner by your own observation that in one part of India at least the grievance is real and has not been overstated.

As I have said, this movement of the Musalmans of India is nothing new or strange. I was surprised to read, only a few days ago, that as early as in 1893, our revered leader, the late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, had felt the need of a separate political organization for the Musalmans of India; while it is only too well-known that as early as in 1887, his great speech at Lucknow kept the Mohammedans back and stopped them from joining the so-called National Congress. It is only now that I, for one, have been forced, by the practical needs of our community during the crisis through which we in Eastern Bengal are passing, to believe in the urgent necessity of a separate political organization for the Mohammedans of India which the far-sighted Sir Syed Ahmed had felt more than a decade ago. There were then before us four alternatives: (1) to take no part in politics, and leave to the Government the task of safeguarding our interests; (2) to step into the arena, and take up an attitude of direct hostility to the Hindus; (3) to join the Hindus in the National Congress and do what they did; and (4) to form a separate organization of our own. The third alternative, namely, joining the Congress, was declared even in 1887 to be out of the question, and no one can say that we have wavered since then in our belief: and even our worst enemies cannot say that we have ever followed the second alternative of taking up an attitude of hostility towards any other community. Out of the other two alternatives, in 1887, we were certainly in favour of a policy of 'masterly inactivity' as regards politics; but the disadvantages of such a quiescene forced themselves upon our attention before long, and in 1893, we decided under the leadership of Syed Ahmed Khan to form a separate political organization, called the 'Defence Association'. But then, as before, our aim was defence not defiance; and, to guard still further against the dangers of political activity in a half-educated and war-like race, such safeguards were devised as almost paralysed the organization even for purposes of defence. To this, gentlemen, I should like to draw your attention, as, though we may now be compelled to remove some of the safeguards devised in 1893, I am anxious to impress upon your minds that the spirit of those safeguards, the spirit of caution, will still be as essential a part of our activity.

In 1893, we were naturally very anxious to impress upon the British Government that we were loyal subjects and law-abiding citizens, for it was considered that our rulers had some doubts on the subject, which, however unnecessary, were perhaps not wholly unnatural at the time. Again, education had not toned down the passions of a war-like community, and turned the irascible temper of a newly fallen race into a sweet reasonableness. There was, in addition, the great danger of our giving up the difficult and constructive work of education in favour of the easy task of a destructive critic in politics. The need of self-help might then have been ignored on account of the less taxing effort of criticizing others. The endeavour to deserve might then have been paralysed by the intensity of the desire to obtain. The voice of the reformer might have been drowned in the babel of the demagogue.

To-day the aspect of affairs has greatly changed. The Government has been convinced of our steadfast loyalty under the most trying situations. In 1897, Lord Elgin bore testimony to the unflinching fidelity of the Mohammedan troops that opposed their own co-religionists on the battle-fields of Chitral and the borderland, and shed their own blood and the blood of their brothers for their king and country. This, gentlemen, was a situation which no other community has had a chance of being tried in. If, then, we have special claims on the Government, it is because the test of our loyalty has been specially searching and unique. From those who were considered so dangerous at one time as to be allowed no other career than that of the ploughman in the fields, we have risen so much in the estimation of our rulers, that leading statesmen of England call us the forces of loyalty in India and one of the greatest assets of the Empire, some portion of which has been won with our own support, and the whole of which we are guarding to-day. It is no more necessary to waste whole regiments in the interior in order to guard against an imaginary danger of rebellion, and the Commanderin-Chief can set free with a light heart the major portion of our army for guarding the frontier of the Empire.

As regards education, although we have not achieved all that we desire, we do not at least belong to the category of barbaric hordes which it was at one time the fashion of some people to regard us. Our passions, though they are even now those of a

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war-like race that carved out Empires, wherever its flag unfurled and the sound of its kettle-drums was heard, are more under our control than we could assume them to be even 50 years ago. We can respect the restraints which law has devised for the peace of the land, though even now we shall not be making, like some other communities, a virtue of necessity. I am afraid the danger of our neglecting the best means of advancing our political rights and interests, namely by education, still exists; but we can safely leave the renowned leader of our community, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk Bahadur, and his colleagues and the old students of the Aligarh College, to combat that danger as they have hitherto been doing, and to work on with a will in order to found our future university, which will be an even more unique and splendid constructive work than the Aligarh College, which has no equal in India.

In short, gentlemen, we are to-day prepared to enter on a political career as a community which the spirit of the times impels us to do. A more active propaganda, a more candid statement of our needs and aspirations, and the giving of a more public and more representative character to our Political Association, are more necessary to-day than was the case in 1893. But nothing of the spirit of loyalty is lost thereby, and no amount of candour shall rob us of our traditional courtesy. The resolution which I have the honour of moving to-day has been so framed that the object of our League is frankly the protection and advancement of our political rights and interests, but without prejudice to the traditional loyalty of Musalmans to the Government, and goodwill to our Hindu neighbours. Whenever it is necessary to do so, we shall represent our views to the Government, and respectfully submit our claims for due consideration. But whenever the intention of any measure of Government is misunderstood by our people, it shall equally be our duty to remove that misconception. Those interests which we have in common with other communities will be advanced by us in common with them, and those additional interests which are exclusively ours will be advanced exclusively by us, though we shall advance them both through our League. But just as we shall be respectful and moderate in the representation of our views to the Government, so shall we be just and fair to the other communities whose interests may clash with ours. This latter

contingency may by some be regarded as a remote one, but at any rate it is possible, and it is on this account that the formation of a separate organization of the Musalmans is necessary. I cannot conceive that the ultimate interests of the various communities of India could ever conflict, but their immediate interests are, and shall often be at variance; and unless each community looks after itself, it can have no chance of achieving or retaining what is, by right, its own. This is only natural, and it is only on this account that our neighbours are asking for self-government. Can they, then, with any show of consistency, deny to us what they so vehemently claim for themselves?

In conclusion, gentlemen, I must say that only after a central League like the one proposed to be formed to-day comes into existence, can the Government find a representative body to which to turn for ascertaining the views of the Musalmans of India, and to which the Musalmans themselves can turn for consistent and firm support, sensible and sincere advice, and a true interpretation of the wishes of the Government. The materials have, for long, been ready, but only now shall we be able to rear from them the mighty and splendid fabric of a united people. And the spirit of the League will be the spirit of our poet who said:

Azad-rao hun aur mera maslak hai sulhi kul Hargiz kabhi kisi se adavat nahin mujhe.

Hakim Ajmal Khan seconded this resolution. He said, "I have nothing to add to the able speech of the Nawab Bahadur. The resolution itself is so clear, and its motives so apparent, that I shall only be reiterating what has already been said. I would therefore merely say that I second the resolution, and leave it for open discussion."

Mr. Zafar Ali made a speech in support of the resolution.

Sahebzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, supported the resolution, but wished to amend clause (c) substituting for the words 'to prevent the rise among the Musalmans of India of any feeling of hostility towards other communities,' the following words: 'to remove the cause of friction between the Musalmans of India and other communities.'

Sheikh Abdullah seconded the amendment.

Mr. Mohamed Ali explained that the words of the amendment only pointed out a method of "preventing the rise among the Musalmans of India of any feeling of hostility towards other communities," and the amendment was therefore wholly covered by the language of the original resolution. On this the amendment was withdrawn. The original resolution was put to the vote, and passed unanimously.

Mr. Nabiullah proposed the following resolution which was seconded by Ahmad Mohayy-ud-din and carried unanimously.

RESOLUTION II

Resolved that a Provisional Committee be formed consisting of the following gentlemen, with powers to add to their number, with a view to frame, within four months from this date, a Constitution for the League:

Joint Secretaries

Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk and Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk.

Members

Eastern Bengal: The Hon'ble Nawab Salim-ul-lah of Dacca; The Hon'ble Choudhury Nawab Ali (Mymensingh); Moulvi Himayat-ud-din (Barisal).

Assam: Moulvi Abdul Majid, B.A. (Sylhet).

Western Bengal: Mr. Abdur Rahim, Bar-at-Law (Calcutta); Nawab Nasir-ud-din Khayal (Calcutta); Nawab Amir Hossain (Calcutta); Mr. Shams-ul-Huda, Vakil (Calcutta); Mr. Serajul-Islam, Vakil (Calcutta); Mr. Abdul Hamid, Editor, Moslem Chronicle (Calcutta).

Bihar: Mr. Ali Imam, Bar-at-Law (Patna); Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque, Bar-at-Law (Chhapra); Mr. Hasan Imam, Bar-at-Law (Patna).

Oudh: Mr. Nabi-ul-lah, Bar-at-Law (Lucknow); Mr. Hamid Ali Khan, Bar-at-Law (Lucknow); Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk (Belgram); Munshi Ihtisham Ali (Lucknow); Mr. Zahur Ahmed, B.A., LL.B. (Lucknow); Mr. Mahomed Nasim, Vakil (Lucknow); Mr. Ghulam-us-Saqlain, B.A., LL.B. (Lucknow); Raja Nowshad Ali Khan (Lucknow).

Agra Province: Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk (Aligarh); Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk (Amroha); Mr. Mohamed Ishaque, B.A., LL.B. (Allahabad); Sahebzada Aftab Ahmed Khan, Bar-at-Law (Aligarh); Moulvi Karamat Hussein, Bar-at-Law (Allahabad); Mr. Abdur Raoof, Bar-at-Law (Allahabad); Mr. Mahomed Raoof, Bar-at-Law (Allahabad); Haji Mahomed Musa Khan (Aligarh); Khan Bahadur Mahomed Mozammil-ul-lah Khan (Aligarh); Mr. Abdullah Jan, Vakil (Shaharanpur); Mr. Abdul Majid, Bar-at-Law (Allahabad); Haji Ismail Khan (Aligarh); Sheikh Abdullah, B.A., LL.B. (Aligarh).

Punjab: Mr. Mahomed Shafi, Bar-at-Law (Lahore); Mr. Fazl Husain, Bar-at-Law (Lahore); Mr. Abdul Aziz, Editor, Observer (Lahore); Khwajah Yousaf Shah (Ludhiana); Hakim Ajmal Khan (Delhi); Sheikh Gholam Mohamed, Vakil (Amritsar); Mr. Ghulam Sadiq (Amritsar).

Frontier Province: Mufti Fida Mahomed Khan, Bar-at-Law (Peshawar), Mr. Abdul Aziz, Bar-at-Law (Peshawar).

Sindh: Mr. A.M. Dehlavi (Hyderabad).

Kathiawar: Mr. Ghulam Mohamed Munshi, Bar-at-Law (Rajkote).

Gujrat: Mr. Mohamed Ali, B.A. (Oxon.).

Bombay Presidency: His Highness Sir Aga Khan (Bombay); Nawabzada Nasr-ul-lah Khan, Bar-at-Law (Bombay); Mr. Rafiud-din, Bar-at-Law (Bombay).

Madras Presidency: Khan Bahadur Abdul Hadi Badsha (Madras); Khan Bahadur Ahmed Mohayy-ud-din (Madras); Mr. Yakub Hasan, Proprietor of the Muslim Patriot (Madras); Nawab Gholam Ahmed (Coromandel, K.G.F.); Mr. Abdul Hamid Hasan, B.A., LL.B., Editor of the Muslim Patriot (Madras).

Orissa: Mr. Nur-ul-Haq, Secretary Mohammedan Association (Cuttack).

Central Province: Khan Saheb Mohamed Amir Khan, Pleader (Nagpur); Mr. H.M. Mullick (Nagpur).

Burmah: Mr. A.S. Rafiqi (Rangoon).

The following resolution was then proposed by Mr. Hasan Imam. It was seconded by Mr. Mohamed Ishaq and carried unanimously.

RESOLUTION III

Resolved that the Provisional Committee be authorized to convene a representative meeting of Indian Musalmans at a suitable time and place for the consideration and adoption of the constitution framed in this manner.

Khwaja Ghulam-us-Saqlain then moved the following resolution which was seconded by Mr. Ghulam Sadiq and supported by several speakers. It was carried unanimously.

RESOLUTION IV

Resolved that this meeting, in view of the clear interest of the Musalmans of Eastern Bengal, considers that the Partition is sure to prove beneficial to the Mohammedan community which constitutes the vast majority of that Province, and that all such methods of agitation as boycotting should be strongly condemned and discouraged.

Votes of thanks were then passed for the Chairman and for the Nawab of Dacca, and the meeting dissolved¹.

^{1.} Green Book No. 1, prepared by Mohamed Ali and Printed at the Indian Daily Telegraph Press, Lucknow, 1907.

The All-India Muslim League

Chapter 7

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

FIRST SESSION

Karachi, December 29-30, 1907

The First Session of the All-India Muslim League opened on December 29, 1907, and was largely attended by delegates from different parts of the country. Sir Adamjee Peerbhoy on his entrance to the conference mandap was received with enthusiastic cheers.

Mr. Dehlavi, Karachi Secretary of the League, opened the proceedings by welcoming the delegates. He said that when he was first asked to accept the post of local Secretary in Karachi, he hesitated to do so because he did not know whether the line of action he had to take in Sind would be consonant with the line of action which the League had in view now. He was in a position to say that it had the same spirit which their old thinkers and elders wished it to be. In benighted Sind political methods were calm, in fact they were devoid of agitation. The Muslim League was a new institution in India, but he thought if it carried on work in that quiet and calm manner which was characteristic of the political methods in Sind, if would grow into a most powerful and effective political force.

Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk then moved that Sir Adamjee Peerbhoy be elected President. Nawab Ali Choudhri and Mian Muhammad Shah Din respectively seconded and supported the proposition.

Mr. Shah Din said that Sir Adamjee held a very high position in the estimation both of the Government and the public. It was estimated that his public charities amounted to no less

than Rs. 50 lakhs. Only in the previous year he had made a donation of Rs. 1,10,000 for the establishment of a science college at Aligarh. In view of his high virtues, his disinterested philanthropy and his public spirit there was no Mohammedan in India who stood higher in public estimation than Sir Adamjee, and therefore, it was fit and proper that they should select him to preside over their deliberations.

At the request of the President, his son, Mr. Mohamedbhai, read out his Presidential address, which was listened to with keen interest and punctuated with frequent applause.¹

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF SIR ADAMJEE

Gentlemen, I thank you most heartily for the great honour you have done me in selecting me to preside over your deliberations at this second gathering of the All-India Muslim League. I can only say that this is one of the proudest moments of my life and that the memory of the honour you have done me will never fade from my mind.

I need hardly tell you that this is only the second occasion on which this League has met. Its first public appearance was in December last year at Dacca when that great son of our patriotic community, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk, occupied the presidential chair. The success of that first effort was all that we could naturally expect. Its proceedings were reported throughout the British Empire, and in the great London Press there were inspiring comments and criticisms which not only indicated that the movement had the widest sympathy of all well-wishers of the Mohammedans, but has imposed upon us the duty of developing this organization to its fullest possible extent.

If any doubt has ever existed, and I know of none, that the Mohammedans of India would fail in their duty to themselves, the gathering here to-day, the leaders of our people, the men in whom we put our trust and who are writing a memorable page in our history indicates in no uncertain way that the message has gone to the heart of the people, and we have at length awakened to the stern necessity of guarding our interests and advancing our cause. I have said that the first public evidence of

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movement goes a little further back. I know nothing which has been more productive of concrete results for the benefit of our consolidation was given at Dacca, but the initiation of this ourselves than that great and memorable national deputation which in October 1906, went to Simla and laid before H.E. Lord Minto the Petition embodying our national sentiments and aspirations. It will always be a matter of keen regret to me that circumstances denied me the honour and happiness of proceeding to Simla with the deputation, but I have some slight satisfaction in the fact that my own kith and kin, my son Ebrahim, together with Maulvi Rafi-ud-din Ahmad, represented this part of India.

The splendid courtesy with which that deputation was received by H.E. the Viceroy, inspired the Mohammedans throughout India with complete confidence. His speech in reply to our memorial was a statesmanlike utterance and the very words of it are engraven indelibly on our memory. It breathed confidence, and whilst it committed neither His Excellency nor his Government to any particular line of action, we knew that the great interests of Mohammedans would never be lightly set aside or suffer neglect. Concrete evidence of that fact has already been given in the schemes suggested by the Government of India for the improvement of the people on the Legislative Council, which regulates the affairs of India.

As I desired to say, the initiation of the League dates from that visit. You know as well as I do that the deputation was headed by His Highness the Aga Khan. That leader of our community is still young in years, but I only speak what we all have in our minds when I say we have hopes of his rendering us still higher services in the future. With him was the lamented late Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, the Honorary Secretary of the deputation, to whom I must refer again. The first practical work was the formation of the plans for the organization of this League. It first met at Dacca in the east and was pronounced a success. It has met again here at Karachi in the west, the greatest city of Sindh, the centre of Islam, and as I look round me today, I can only express my surprise that a young movement has so quickly found the heart of our people and touched us with one common object, the advancement of our historic people. What the future has in store for the League I dare not

prognosticate; but if the same spirit which animates us to-day guides its destinies, it will not be long before our rulers, and Mohammedans the world over, will look to the proceedings of this League for knowledge of our aspirations and the correct measure of our advancement along the paths we are destined to proceed. I appeal to every Mohammedan in India to realize this important fact, to do all in his power to add to the strength of the League, to understand its aims and objects, and to render it that practical support without which it can do nothing. We have ventured to draw the attention of the whole of India upon us: we have elected to give evidence to our rulers that we are a community imbued with high ambitions, and we have thus imposed upon ourselves a task from which we dare not shrink. We have taken a step forward; to go back would be to drop into oblivion and stamp ourselves as unworthy of the place we demand in the British Empire. I cannot dwell on this aspect of our duty too long or with too much earnestness. What is our first duty to this end? It is to be united in ourselves, to be of one mind and one purpose. We must of all things discard sectional jealousies and personal animosities; two evils which are capable of cankering the heart of the sublimest purpose. We must look to the good of the community as a whole: work shoulder to shoulder as true children of Islam. We are putting in the foundations of a mighty structure. Let us do good work.

My duty to-day, gentlemen, is to direct your energies to the consideration of those highly important subjects on which you will be called upon to express an opinion. They are momentous in all consideration, and whilst I have no intention of impressing upon you any particular views of my own, I ask you to proceed with moderation and with a due recognition of the responsibility placed upon you. It is scarcely necessary for me to say that I have but a poor knowledge of the paths of political controversy. I am no scholar nor a man of many words. My sphere of action in this life has been cast in an entirely different direction. Since the time when nature made it possible for me to turn my hand to toil, I have laboured, and I must admit I still have much affection for the man who uses his energies in that direction. But I do not wish to be misunderstood. I do not despise those who labour in other fields. There is work for us all. Circumstances have compelled me to direct my energies into

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the paths of industrialism and no higher duty could be placed upon an individual. I believe in the dignity of labour as the great Prophet did. The history of our people, the history of our heroes and of those who have carried the flag of Islam over the world has been one of strenuous and ceaseless effort. Whatever we may have lacked in recent times in purely literary accomplishments, no one can charge the Mohammedan with not doing his fair share of the world's work. In India he has shown his special aptitude in industrialism, and I believe it is along these lines that he can best exert his influence and carve for himself a high position in the Empire. I love to see the development of Mohammedan enterprise, for it is a true measure of the energy and spirit of the people and we can never be without hope so long as we can maintain the reputation we have already earned. The history of the British people has shown that industrialism leads the way and on that foundation they built the great superstructure of the arts. We, above all others, cannot afford to neglect higher education, for our people must take their part in the responsibilities of Government and the advancement of all such movements as require the energies of trained intelligence. It gave me particular satisfaction two years ago, at the time of the memorable visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and his beloved consort, to show that I was capable of appreciating work in another sphere, by, in some slight measure, assisting to found the Science School in connection with the Aligarh College.

It will be your duty, gentlemen, to turn your attention to highly important matters arising out of the proposed reforms in connection with the Indian Legislative Councils. I have no wish to impress upon you any ideas of my own, or to anticipate the decisions at which you may ultimately arrive. For myself, I must say that I received the news of the decision of Government, to reply to popular agitation by a considerable expansion of the principle of the Legislative Council, with every satisfaction. And this was enhanced by the fact that the Government has seen its way to recognize our prayer in the memorial addressed to H.E. Lord Minto, and safeguard the interests of the Mohammedans by providing class representation. As you are aware, the proposed reforms provide that there shall be a mininum of four Mohammedan representatives in the Imperial

Council. Whether that number is adequate or not will be for you to say, but we must be grateful to the Viceroy and the Government of India for the recognition of those claims we specifically set out in our memorial. It indicates that the Government is prepared to listen to the popular voice, and if this attitude is carried still further and influences the Government in its nomination of suitable men to represent us we shall have little to complain of. We must as far as possible preclude the monopolization of these appointments by those who have only personal ends to serve and encourage and stimulate our rising young men to exert their talents and energies for the good of their community. In the provincial councils, the same provisions for Mohammedan representation are made, and if we can only infuse into provincial governments the spirit which has animated the Government of India and the Secretary of State in dealing with our just and moderate claims, our labours will be considerably lightened. It is necessary for us to remember the wisdom expressed by Lord Minto to the deputation which waited on him at Simla. He said, "I agree with you, gentlemen, that the initial rungs in the ladder of self-government are to be found in the municipal and district boards, and that it is in that direction that we must look for gradual political education of the people." I am in full accord with those words and it is in this direction that our real labour must commence. When we learn to control our parochial surroundings, we can lay claim to adding our influence to imperial policy.

Another point in the memorial was the matter of the adequate employment of Mohammedans in the higher branches of the public service. We were told in the past that we lacked competence. That reproach can no longer be fairly brought against us in these days. We have in our midst educated Mohammedans who have fitted themselves for all responsible positions in the administration, and certainly our traditions show that we have always been faithful to any administrative trust reposed in us. It will be part of your duties, gentlemen, to discuss this matter, and I trust you will be able to add such weight to your words that the Government will adequately respond to your legitimate claims.

Our loyalty to the Government has never yet been impeached, and I trust it never will. But when a vast community sets

itself to bring about its regeneration, its methods must be precise and open to no misconstruction. We recognize the difficulties of the Government in adjusting conflicting claims, but we must be as fearless as we are honest in our criticisms, whoever and whatever they may affect. So far as I know, the Government of India is the last to complain of criticism so long as it is fair, moderate and upright.

As you know, the third object of our League is to prevent, as far as possible, the rise of hostile feelings between the different communities in India. With that object I am in complete sympathy, for it passes my understanding why the Mohammedans should in the advancement of their own interests injure those of any other people. We contribute to the common good by improving our own surroundings. It is no part of the purpose of this League to oppose the progress of other communities or to be aggressive towards them in any direction whatever. We respect all who work for the common good of the country.

I mentioned in opening my address the name of the late Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk. His death at such a time was a great blow to our community. Never were his services more needed than at the present time. He worked strenuously for the success of the deputation to Simla and it is some slight satisfaction to know that he saw at least the first fruits of his labours. His work was universally approved, for he had but one single object, and that the steady progress of his people. We have need of many such patriots and I cannot do better than ask our young men to study his life and works and let them be an example to follow.

The late Nawab has been succeeded as Secretary of the Aligarh College by Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur. The wisdom of that appointment is fully indicated in the fact that it was unanimous. I know of no one more capable of wearing the mantle of the late Secretary than his present successor. His past labours have all been for the good of his people and Mohammedans may congratulate themselves that the Nawab has consented to tak up the work at Aligarh.

I have but lightly touched upon those subjects with which you will be called upon to deal. I can offer you but small guidance in your deliberations, but my heart and soul is with you, and I pray with all the earnestness of an old man that God will

direct your energies and lead you into the paths of righteousness and wisdom.²

On the conclusion of the address, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk thanked Sir Adamjee on behalf of the whole Mohammedan community of India for accepting the invitation to preside at the conference.

Mr. Ali Imam, in an eloquent speech, moved a vote of thanks to the President. He appealed to his co-religionists not to neglect their political interests, and not to ignore the efforts of Government who were ready to meet them halfway. Once the Mohammedans made common cause, and other communities would find that the Mohammedans were able to unite, they would respect them and co-operate with them.

Haji Musa Khan seconded the resolution which was carried by acclamation. Three cheers were then called for Sir Adamjee by Moulvi Rafi-ud-din and were heartily given. The Session adjourned till the next day.⁸

It was resolved to form a committee to prepare the draft of rules and regulations of the All-India Muslim League. It included those members who were elected in accordance with Resolution No. 2 of the Dacca proceedings of December 30, 1905, to form a committee to prepare the draft of rules and regulations of the League, and who were also present at the Karachi Session. It included those members who had formed part of the Simla Deputation, but could not be elected members of the committee in pursuance of Resolution No. 2, due to their absence from the Dacca Session, being in Government service or due to any other cause. It was unanimously resolved that other persons who had come from distant places and were specially interested in this work, should be deemed delegates of their provinces. In addition to these, three more members were unanimously co-opted, raising the total strength of the Committee to 26. It was further decided that the election of officebearers should take place in March 1908 in a meeting of the All-India Muslim League at Aligarh.4

The Session also considered the question of affiliation of the

- 2. Official copy of the printed address
- 3. Civil & Military Gazette, December 31, 1907.
- 4. The Aligarh Institute Gazette, March 25, 1908, p. 8.

Provincial Branch in the Punjab, where two Lcagues were established. One was formed by Mian Fazl-i-Hussain in February 1906, the other by Mian Shafi on December 4, 1907. Besides Mian Shafi and Mian Fazl-i-Hussain, Raja Ghulam Hussain, Mr. Mohamed Ali and Mr. (later Sir) Ali Imam participated in the discussion. Eventually Mian Fazl-i-Hussain withdrew his claim, and it was decided to merge the two bodies into one with Mian (later Justice) Shah Din as President, Mian Shafi, General Secretary, and Mian Fazl-i- Hussain as Joint Secretary.

Chapter 8

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

FIRST SESSION (Contd.)

Aligarh, March 18-19, 1908

FIRST SITTING

The members of the All-India Muslim League assembled at Aligarh on March 18, 1908, to transact important business left unfinished at Karachi. The spacious bungalow of Mr. Muzamilul-lah Khan had been borrowed for the accommodation of the guests from outstations and for the Meeting. The first sitting of the League began at 8 a.m. The members present, including new members elected at the meeting, are listed in Appendix A.

As President of the Reception Committee, Mr. Muzamil-ullah Khan welcomed the members of the League to Aligarh and asked them to elect their Chairman.

Mr. Fazl-i-Husain, moved, seconded and supported by Mr. Muzamil-ul-lah Khan and Moulvi Rafi-ud-din Ahmad, respectively, that Mr. Mohamad Shah Din, be voted to the Chair. The motion was unanimously carried. Mr. Shah Din took the Chair and called upon the Secretary to lay before the Meeting the proceedings of the Karachi sitting of the League, which were read and confirmed.

The Secretary reported with regret the death of two leading members of the League, Khalifa Syed Muhamad Husain of Patiala and Mr. Abdul Hadi Padsha of Madras. He also announced with gratification the elevation of a prominent member of the League, Maulvi Syed Karamat Husain to the Bench of the Allahabad High Court, though regretting that the League will now be deprived of his valuable guidance and co-operation.

The resignation of Nawab Syed Sardar Ali of Bombay from

the membership of the League for private reasons was placed before the meeting and accepted.

The Secretary invited the opinion of the meeting as to the desirability or otherwise of not enforcing with rigour the provision as to the date by which the existing members of the League should pay their admission and membership fees. The date by which the members ought to have sent in their dues was February 15, 1908, but it was unanimously agreed that in view of the fact that the League is yet in its infancy, this rule may be relaxed in its application, and fees received subsequent to the date be duly accepted. It was also resolved that the original members nominated under groups first, second and third of Rule No. 4 should be permanently regarded as members and enrolled as such on the new register from the date on which they pay their fees and thus become entitled to exercise the rights of membership under Rule 12.

A donation of Rs. 500 from His Highness Sir Agha Khan, G.C.I.E., was announced and received with acclamation, out of which Rs. 50 were credited to the account of the League as the admission and membership fees of His Highness.

After this the election of new members began, and the following were duly proposed and elected:

Name	Mover	Seconder
S. Mohamad Husain	Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk	Haji Musa Khan
Sheikh Abdul Rauf	do	Khan Bahadur Muzamil-ul-lah Khan
Amir Mustafa Khan	do	do
Shahid Husain	do	Syed Hassan Bilgrami
Maulvi Khalilur-	Khan Bahadur Muza-	Nawab Viqar-ul-
Rahman Khan	mil-ul-lah Khan	Mulk
Maulvi Manzurun- Nabi	_	
Haji Muhamad Sa- hib Khan	Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk	Mr. Habibur- Rahman Khan
Mr. Sakhawat Ali	do	Syed Nabi-ul-lah
Nawab Muhamad Hasan Khan	do	do
TTMAMIT TENMIT		

Name	Mover	Seconder
Maulvi Abdus Salam	Sheikh Abdullah	Haji Musa Khan
Haji Isa Khan	do	do
Haji Muhamad Yu-	do	do
suf Khan	_	_
Mr. P.B. Kadri	do	do
Mr. Muhamad Ya- kub	Nawab Viqar ul-Mulk	do
Sheikh Kifayat-ul-lah	do	Khan Bahadur Muzamil-ul-lah Khan
Mirza Sami-ul-lah Beg	Syed Zahur Ahmad	Mr. Muhamad Nasim
Maulvi Ali-ud-din Hasan	Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk	Haji Musa Khan
Mr. Sultan Ahmad	do	do
Maulvi Hayat Ash-	do	do
raf-ud-din	uo	do
Khan Bahadur Maulv Abdul Jabar	i do	do
Moiyadaleslam Aga Sayed Jalal-ud-din	do	do
Khan Bahadur Badr- ud-din Haydar	do .	do
Sir Adamjee Peer- bhoy	Unanimously nominate of Maulvi Rafi-ud-din of his being the Preside meeting at Karachi, w	Ahmad, in honour ent of the League hose name ought
	to have been added to nominated members probut was inadvertently	epared at Karachi,

Mian Muhamad Shafi then proposed the names of 24 gentlemen from the Punjab to be elected as members of the All-India Muslim League, and Sheikh Ghulam Sadiq of Amritsar seconded the motion.

Mr. Fazl-i-Hussain, proposed the names of 18 gentlemen from the Punjab for election who were not included in the list of Mr. Mohamad Shafi. This motion was not seconded. Mr. Muzamil-ul-lah Khan moved and Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk

Bahadur and Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan seconded and supported that, as under the rules only 24 more members could be elected from the Punjab, time should be allowed to get the two movers to combine their lists and between themselves agree to propose only 24 on behalf of the Punjab, and therefore the election of the members for the Punjab was unanimously adjourned to the afternoon sitting.

Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk then moved the following resolution, which was seconded by Major Syed Hassan Bilgrami and supported by Sheikh Abdul Qadir, and unanimously adopted:

The All-India Muslim League is of the opinion that with the view of promoting its objects it is desirable that the League should co-operate with, and support financially and otherwise, the British Committee which has recently been founded in London under the presidency of Syed Ameer Ali, C.I.E., in whom the League has perfect confidence.

With regard to financial support it was unanimously decided to send a lump sum of Rs. 1,500 (or £ 100 in English money) to Syed Ameer Ali's Committee on behalf of the League as the aid the League can afford to give at present.

SECOND SITTING March 18, 2 p.m.

Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur proposed that the 15 gentlemen whose names had been put forward for election by Syed Ali Imam, at Bankipur, be elected as members. Haji Musa Khan seconded the proposal and it was carried unanimously. (For the names of the members from Bihar thus elected see the list of 15 names marked Appendix B).

Mr. Yakub Hasan moved that the following be elected for the Madras Presidency:

1. Khan Bahadur Ghulam Muhamad Muhajir	Madras
2. Khan Bahadur Walji Lalji Seth	George Town
3. Maulvi Hazi Ziauddin Mohamad	George Town
4. Malaong Hayat Badsha	Madras
5. Maulvi Syed Murtaza	Trichinopoly
6. Mohyuddin Badsha	Kallai

The motion was seconded by Maulvi Rafi-ud-din Ahmad and carried.

The election of the members for the Punjab being taken up, Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk Bahadur asked Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan to make a statement before the meeting as to the result of the negotiations carried on by him and Sheikh Muhamad Abdullah between the representatives of the two Leagues at Lahore about arranging terms on which the two Leagues could unite and form one body. Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan said that he had found both Mr. Fazl-i-Husain and Mr. Muhamad Shafi willing to bring about the desired union, and they had all but agreed about the terms, the only difficulty being about certain offices. Mr. Fazl-i-Husain was agreeable to uniting and co-operating with the League of which Mr. Muhamad Shafi was the Secretary, if 10 members of the former were taken on the Executive Committee of the latter and if one Vice-President. one Joint Secretary and one Assistant Secretary was taken on the latter from the office-bearers of the former. The difficulty was about the Joint Secretary, as Joint Secretaries had already been appointed and there was no vacancy. The meeting, therefore, pressed Mr. Muhamad Shafi to add another Joint Secretary to the two already appointed and welcomed this settlement.

This understanding facilitated the business of the election, and Mr. Mohamad Shafi moved and Mian Fazl-i-Husain seconded a list of 22 members from the Punjab for election, and they were unanimously elected. This list had been prepared by both in consultation out of the two lists prepared by them in the morning. The names of the members thus elected are given in Appendix C.

After the election, Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan proposed and Haji Muhamad Musa Khan seconded "that in its present united form the League in the Punjab may be taken as the Provincial League established by the All-India Muslim League under para (a) of Rule 24". This proposal was unanimously carried.

The election of office-bearers was the next item on the programme. Maulvi Rafi-ud-din Ahmad, proposed and Mian Muhamad Shafi seconded, supported by Haji Muhamad Yusuf Khan, "that His Highness Sir Aga Khan, G.C.I.E., be elected President of the All-India Muslim League". The resolution was unanimously adopted and communicated to His Highness by wire. Mian Muhamad Shafi moved, and Mr. Muhamad Muzamil-ul-lah Khan seconded, supported by Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk

that "Major Syed Hassan Bilgrami, I.M.S., be elected Honorary Secretary of the League": carried unanimously.

Mian Muhamad Shafi moved, seconded by Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk, "that Haji Muhamad Musa Khan be elected Honorary Joint Secretary of the League": carried unanimously.

Sheikh Abdul Qadir moved a vote of thanks to Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk, the retiring Provincial Secretary. He referred to the Nawab as virtually the founder of the League and the originator of the idea in its present form, and expressed the regret felt by all the members of League at the loss of his services to the League in the capacity of a Secretary, but they found consolation in the fact "that it was on account of his taking up all the still more onerous duties of the Secretary of the M.A.O. College that the Nawab had to resign the Secretaryship of the League". This motion was seconded by Syed Nabi-ul-lah, and supported by Mr. Muhamad Yakub Hasan, and carried.

The question where the permanent headquarters of the League should be was taken up next at the instance of Munshi Ihtisham Ali; but after a good deal of discussion, it was agreed that it would be an advantage not to bind the League to any particular centre and to be free to hold its meetings wherever necessary for promoting its objects. Mr. Yakub Hasan moved, and Mr. Muhamad Shafi seconded, that the existing members of the All-India League in Madras be requested to take early steps for the formation of a Provincial Muslim League in that Presidency. The resolution was carried unanimously.

Mr. Yakub Hasan called the attention of the President to a correction that was necessary on page 23 of the printed Rules, in para (a) of Rule 39, where the words "two-thirds of the members of the League" should be read as "two-thirds of the members present as the League", because the Rule, as it stood, would be obviously meaningless when read in conjunction with Rule 16 disallowing votes by proxy. He said that he was present at Karachi where the Rules were framed and had understood the Rule in question to mean two-thirds of the members present at the League, and therefore moved formally that the correction may be made. Mr. Muhamad Shafi seconded the proposal and it was resolved that the correction may be made.

The programme for the day being finished the meeting adjourned till the next morning.

THIRD SITTING March 19, 1908, 8 a.m.

The Secretary laid before the meeting the opinions that had been received regarding the question of Indians in the transvaal in response to his invitation to the members of the League to express their views on the subject. As the opinions were connected mainly with the dissatisfaction that prevailed among the Indians in the Transvaal about Registration and thumb marks, it was decided, in view of the compromise recently arrived at in South Africa, to file the papers for the present, as no immediate action on the part of the League was needed now. The formation of a Central Committee of the League, in accordance with Rule 17, was the next item on the programme. A misprint in line 4 of Rule 17 was corrected, and it is placed on record that the words "including the office-bearers of the League" must be read as "excluding the office-bearers".

Maulvi Zahur Ahmad proposed and Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk seconded that the Central Committee should consist of 40 members, the maximum allowed under the present rules.

Mr. Muzamil-ul-lah Khan moved an amendment seconded by Sheikh Abdul Qadir that it should consist of 35 for the present. The amendment was lost and the substantive motion taken as accepted.

The distribution of the members of the Central Committee over different provinces followed next. The award was in proportion to the number of members allowed to each Province under Rule 5 and came out as follows:

Agra and Oudh	7
Punjab	7
Bombay, including Sindh	4
Madras	2.5
N.W.F. Province and Baluchistan	1.5
Upper Bengal, Bihar and Orissa	7
Eastern Bengal and Assam	7
Berar, Central India and Ajmer	1.5
Burma	1
10 Native States etc.	1.5
	40

Fractions occurring in some cases were adjusted as follows after great discussion:

Mr. Yakub Hasan moved, Haji Musa Khan seconded, that Madras should get three instead of 2.5.

Mr. Muzamil-ul-lah Khan moved the amendment that Madras should have two, and this being seconded by Maulvi Zahur Ahmad, was carried.

Mr. Abdul Aziz moved, and Haji Musa Khan seconded, that the N.W.F. Province and Baluchistan should have one.

Mr. Muhamad Shafi moved, and Major Syed Hassan seconded, that the N.W.F. Province and Baluchistan should have two.

The amendment was put to vote and lost, and the N.W.F. Province and Baluchistan got one.

Major Syed Hassan moved, and Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk seconded, that Berar, Central India and Ajmer should have two.

This was carried.

Mr. Yakub Hasan moved, and Mr. Muhamad Shafi seconded, that one seat on the Central Committee now left for disposal on account of fractions should be allowed to one of the provinces having fractional numbers and that the N.W.F. Province and Baluchistan should get it.

Mr. Zahur Ahmad, seconded by Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk, moved that it should be given to the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. The Nawab explained that this was necessary in the interests of the League, as its centre of operations for the present was in the United Provinces, and it would help the conducting of ordinary business to have enough members in this part of the country to secure easily the presence of a quorum at the ordinary meeting of the Central Committee. Mr. Muhamad Shafi, admitting the force of the explanation, said that he and the mover would give up their proposal in favour of the United Provinces, if it was expressly agreed that this additional seat was not to fall permanently to the share of the United Provinces, but was to be understood as a temporary arrangement specially necessitated by the present requirements of the League.

Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk admitted that such was the object of the motion he had seconded, and thereupon the resolution was adopted.

^{1.} This implies one member for Native State etc.

The election of the members of the Central Committee was postponed to the afternoon sitting.

The Council's Reform Scheme of the Government of India was then taken up for consideration. A draft prepared on behalf of the League embodying the Mohammedan view of the Reform Scheme was laid on the table by the Secretary. Printed copies of the opinions already sent to Government by the Trustees of the M.A.O. college and by the Provincial Muslim League of Punjab were also there long with individual opinions of some leading Mohammedans received by the Secretary. Sheikh Abdul Qadir moved that the draft and the printed opinions on the Government scheme for the expansion of Councils be referred to a representative committee of the League with full powers to consider and adopt it with any necessary changes and to submit it to Government as the opinion of the League. Mr. Muzamilul-lah Khan seconded this motion.

Mr. Zahur Ahmad moved an amendment that the principles on which the committee is to proceed should be discussed before the meeting and the drafting done by the Committee. Mr. Ihtisham Ali seconded this amendment. The amendment was put to the vote and lost; then the original motion was carried by majority, and a committee with full powers consisting of the following gentlemen was nominated: Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk; Syed Nabi-ul-lah, Bar-at-Law; Maulvi Rafi-ud-din Ahmad, Bar-at-Law; Mr. Yusuf Hassan; Mr. Zahur Ahmad; Mr. Fazl-i-Husain, Bar-at-Law; and Khwaja Yusuf Shah.

It was decided that the Committee should prepare and send the opinion, so that it might reach the Government before March 31, the date upto which opinions on the scheme could be received by the Government, and it should bear the signatures of Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk, Major Syed Hassan Bilgrami and Haji Musa Khan, as Ex-Secretary, Secretary and Joint Secretary respectively.

The next item on the programme was a resolution about the separation of judicial and executive functions. Mian Muhamad Shafi moved, and Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan seconded the resolution. In the discussion that followed Mr. Muzamil-ul-lah Khan and Haji Yusuf Khan spoke against the resolution, and Mr. Zahur Ahmad and Maulvi Rafi-ud-din Ahmad spoke in favour of it. On votes being taken, there were only five votes

for dropping the resolution and the rest for passing it, and it was carried.

Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk moved and Haji Muhamad Musa Khan seconded that a message of condolence be wired on behalf of the League to the bereaved family of Khalifa Syed Muhamad Husain. The motion was unanimously carried.

Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk moved, and Mr. Muzamil-ul-lah Khan seconded a resolution on Judicial Appointments. The resolution was carried unanimously.

Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk called the attention of the members to Rule 31, under which the Honorary Secretary may, during his temporary absence, appoint one of the Joint Secretaries as his locum tenens, and then to Rule 37, under which the Secretary may draw on funds deposited in the Bank under his signature. He suggested that the words "Secretary or in his absence his locum tenens" be substituted for the word "Secretary" in rule 37, as without a clear statement of that kind in the Rules, the Bank would not accept any signature except those of the Secretary, which would be detrimental to business during the absence of the Secretary.

The suggestion was unanimously adopted.

FOURTH SITTING March 19, 1.30 p.m.

Maulvi Rafi-ud-din Ahmad moved a resolution on demands with a suitable introductory speech:

Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan seconded the resolution. Major Syed Hassan moved that as the Council's Reform Scheme was under consideration, the part of the resolution dealing with representation in the councils and municipalities may be omitted or postponed for the present.

Mr. Fazl-i-Husain seconded this amendment. Maulvi Habibur-Rahman Khan spoke in favour of the original resolution urging that all the requests made in the epoch-making memorial of the Mohammedan deputation to H.E. the Viceroy at Simla should be embodied in the Resolution, and Mian Muhamad Shah Din supported this view. On votes being taken on the amendment, there were only two votes for the amendment, which was thus lost. The original Resolution was then put to the vote and passed unanimously.

Mr. Yakub Hasan moved and Sheikh Abdul Qadir seconded that the election of the members of the Central Committee may be a special resolution and be made for one year for the present and not for three years as provided by Rule 19, because the provincial organization of the League being yet incomplete, it would cause dissatisfaction in different provinces if on formation of Provincial Leagues there, it is found that their representatives on the Central Committee have already been chosen for them.

Doubts were expressed as to whether the meeting would be within its rights in passing any such resolution suspending the operation of a rule adopted at the last meeting after deliberation.

Mr. Zahur Ahmad expressed the opinion that the meeting could do so, being an adjourned sitting of the Karachi meeting. After some discussion, it was decided to have a vote on this latter point, and 12 votes to 10 decided that this meeting had no power to pass a resolution like the above.

Election of the members of the Central Committee for different provinces was then taken up. Sheikh Sayid Husain moved, and Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan seconded, that Syed Nabiul-lah, Bar-at-Law, Mr. Zahur Ahmad, B.A., LL.B., and Munshi Ihtisham Ali may be elected to represent Oudh. No other names having been proposed, no ballot was necessary, and the three gentlemen were unanimously elected.

Two lists of five persons each having been put forward on behalf of the Province of Agra, the ballot was taken and the following five gentlemen were declared duly elected: Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur (Aligarh); Maulvi Habibur-Rahman Khan (Aligarh); Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, Bar-at-Law (Aligarh); Khan Bahadur Muzamil-ul-lah Khan (Aligarh); Sayed Abdur Raoof, Bar-at-Law (Allahabad).

A list of seven was put forward for the Punjab by Mian Muhamad Shafi, and his motion being seconded by Mian Fazli-Husain, the following seven members were elected:

Mian Muhamad Shah Din; Khwaja Yusuf Shah; Mian Muhamad Shafi; Sheikh Abdul Aziz, Editor of *The Observer*; Sheikh Abdul Qadir; Mian Fazl-i-Husain; and Mian Hisam-ud-din.

Sir Adamji Pirbhoy, Maulvi Rafi-ud-din Ahmad and Mr. A.M.K. Dehlavi were elected on behalf of Bombay and Sindh; and Mr. Yakub Hasan and Khan Bahadur Ghulam Muhamad Muhajir on behalf of Madras.

Mr. Abdul Aziz, Bar-at-Law, was elected on behalf of N.W.F. Province and Baluchistan.

Nawab Amir Hassan Khan, C.I.E.; Nawab Nasiri Khan Khyal; Khan Bahadur Mirza Shujaat Ali Beg; Syed Ali Imam, Bar-at-Law; Nawab Sarfraz Husain Khan; Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque, Bar-at-Law; and Mr. Abdul Rahim were duly elected for Western Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The Nawab of Dacca; Khan Bahadur Syed Nawab Ali Chowdhri; Maulvi Abdul Majid; Sayed Muhamad Husain were elected for Eastern Bengal and Assam. Maulana H.M. Malik was elected for the Central Provinces; Mr. A.S. Rafiqi for Burma; Colonel Abdul Majid Khan of Patiala and Mr. Muhamad Ali, B.A. (Oxon.), of Baroda, for the group of Native States, etc.

The Statement of Income and Expenditure for the last year was presented by the Secretary and adopted; and expenditure upto Rs. 57 a month was sanctioned for the officee stablishment of the Secretary, consisting of an English-knowing clerk on a salary of up to Rs. 35 a month, a muharrir on Rs. 15 a month, and a chaprasi on Rs. 7 a month.

Mian Muhamad Shafi moved a vote of thanks to the Reception Committee on behalf of all the guests for the excellent arrangements for their comfort which the Committee had made, and specially mentioned the name of Mr. Muzamil-ul-lah Khan in this connection. The latter, as the President of the Reception Committee, thanked the guests and warmly acknowledged the debt he owed to his colleagues on the Committee, Maulvi Habib-ur-Rahman Khan, Haji Muhamad Yusuf Khan, Mr. Muhamad Salik Khan, Mr. Amir Mustafa Khan and others for the success of the arrangements that had been appreciated by the guests.

Before concluding, Mr. Muzamil-ul-lah Khan made a practical suggestion to the members of the League that they should be on the alert whenever any distinguished visitor from England came to this country, and should try, individually and collectively, to make the Mohammedan point of view on the questions of the day known to them. By doing so, he said, they would be

rendering a service both to the Government and to their community, as great harm was done by these well-meaning visitors coming in contact with only one party in India and knowing only one side of the political problems of this country.

Mian Muhamad Shah Din, as Chairman of the meeting, then wound up the proceedings in a speech expressing gratification at the work that had been done by the meeting. The meeting then adjourned with a vote of thanks to the Chair and three hearty cheers for His Majesty the King Emperor.¹

RESOLUTIONS

SEPARATION OF JUDICIAL & EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS

"That this meeting of the All-India Muslim League is of the opinion that in view of the stage of administrative progress which this country has reached, it is in the highest degree desirable that, so far as may be, judicial functions should be separated from executive functions, as the combination of the two in one officer tends not infrequently to defeat the ends of justice. The League fully approved of the experiment of the separation of the two functions which it is proposed to try in certain district of Eastern Bengal and Assam and suggests that similar experiments be tried, with due regard to local circumstances in each Province."

JUDICIAL APPOINTMENTS

"The All-India Muslim League places on record its sense of gratification at the appointment of the Honourable Maulvi Syed Karamat Husain, Bar-at-Law, as a Judge of the High Court of Judicature for the United Provinces, and is also gratified at the confirmation of the Honorable Justice Sharf-ud-din in his appointment as a Judge of the Calcutta High Court."

1. Report of Haji Mohamad Musa Khan, Offg. Honorary Secretary, All-India Muslim League. Printed at the Pioneer Press, Allahabad, 1908. 117

DEMANDS

The All-India Muslim League takes this opportunity of respectfully calling the attention of the Government to the prayers embodied in the address presented by the All-India Mohammedan Deputation to His Excellency the Viceroy at Simla, and earnestly hopes that the Government will be pleased to take steps to grant such of those prayers as have not been yet acceded to. In particular the League would invite attention to the following matters:

- (a) The imperative necessity which exists in India for the appointment of a Mohammedan Judge to each of the High Courts and Chief Courts of the country where such appointment has not already been made.
- (b) The urgent need for giving the Mohammedans their share of appointments in the various branches of the Public Service, inasmuch as the existing disparity as regards numbers between Mohammedans and the members of other communities in Government Service has resulted in unduly depressing the status of the former, and, if allowed to continue, would tend to intensify the dissatisfaction caused by the present state of things.
- (c) The vital importance of the adequate representation of Mohammedans as a distinct community on the Legislative Councils, both Imperial and Provincial, and also on municipal, district and local boards throughout the country by enabling Mohammedan voters to elect their own representatives on these Boards.
- (d) The great desirability of safeguarding Mohammedan educational interests by securing the due representation of Mohammedans on the Syndicates and Senates of the Indian Universities and on the Textbook Committee connected with the Department of Public Instruction.

APPENDIX A

List of Members Present or Elected at the Meeting Held on March 18-19, 1908

S.No.

Name

- 1. Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur, Maulvi Muhamad Mushtaq Husain Intasarjang, Rais, Amroha, District Moradabad
- 2. Khan Bahadur Mian Muhamad Shah Din, Bar-at-Law
- 3. Khan Bahadur Mian Muhamad Shafi, Bar-at-Law
- 4. Maulvi Rafi-ud-din Ahmad, Bar-at-Law
- 5. Khan Bahadur Khwaja Muhamad Yusuf Shah, Hony. Magistrate and Rais
- 6. Khan Bahadur Sheikh Ghulam Sadiq, Hony. Magistrate and Rais
- 7. Mian Fazl-i-Husain, Bar-at-Law
- 8. Sheikh Abdul Aziz, Bar-at-Law
- 9. Sheikh Abdul Qadir, B.A., Bar-at-Law
- 10. Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan Ahmadi, B.A. (Cantab.), Bar-at-Law
- 11. Sheikh Muhamed Abdullah, B.A., LL.B.
- 12. Major Syed Hassan Bilgrami, IMS
- 13. Maulvi Muhamad Nasim, Advocate
- 14. Khan Bahadur Muhamad Muzamil-ul-lah Khan, Hony. Magistrate and Rais
- 15. Maulvi Muhamad Habibur-Rahman Khan Rais
- 16. Sheikh Shahid Husain, Bar-at-Law
- 17. Syed Nabi-ul-lah, Bar-at-Law
- 18. Syed Zahur Ahmad, B.A., LL.B.
- 19. Mirza Sami-ul-lah Beg, B.A., LL.B.
- 20. Mr. Razzaq Bakhsh Qadri, Bar-at-Law
- 21. Maulvi Abdus Salam, B.A., LL.B.
- 22. Munshi Ihtisham Ali, Rais, Kakori
- 23. Haji Muhamad Yusuf Khan, Rais
- 24. Mr. Amir Mustafa Khan, Rais
- 25. Haji Muhamad Saleh Khan, Rais
- 26. Mr. Yakub Hasan

S.No.

Name

- 27. Sheikh Muhamad Abdur Rauf, Rais
- 28. Maulvi Abdullah Jan, Vakil
- 29. Sheikh Kifayat-ul-lah, Hony. Magistrate and Rais
- 30. Maulvi Muhamad Khalilur-Rahman Khan, Rais
- 31. Haji Muhamad Musa Khan, Rais

APPENDIX B

List of 15 Members from Bihar Elected on March 18, 1908

S.No.

Name

- 1. Sayed Muhamad Kamal, Rais
- 2. Sayed Najmul Huda, Bar-at-Law
- 3. Sayed Tasadduk Husain, Rais
- 4. Hafiz Abdul Rahman, Rais
- 5. Mr. Wasi Ahmad, Bar-at-Law
- 6. Sayed Mahboob Husain, Rais
- 7. Munshi Muhamad Saddiq, Mukhtar
- 8. Sayed Khalil-ul-Rahman
- 9. Sayed Said Ashraf, Rais
- 10. Sayed Mahboob Ashraf
- 11. Chowdhry Karamat Husain, Rais
- 12. Sayed Shah Muhamad Yahya, Rais
- 13. Mr. Khairat Ahmad Khan Bahadur, Rais, Vakil: High Court
- 14. Mr. Shah Muhamad Suleman
- 15. Qazi Farzan Ahmad Khan, Rais

APPENDIX C

List of 22 Members from Punjab Elected on March 18, 1908

S.No. Name

- 1. Nawab Muhamad Ali Khan Qizilbash, Hony. Magistrate
- 2. Khan Bahadur Khan Ahmad Shah, Hony. District Judge
- 3. Khwaja Ahmad Shah, Municipal Commissioner
- 4. Mian Ihsan-ul-Haq, Bar-at-Law
- 5. Khan Bahadur Saith Adamji Mamoonji, Hony. Magistrate
- 6. Mirza Ajaz Husain, B.A.
- 7. Mian Abdul Aziz, Bar-at-Law
- 8. Khan Bahadur Qazi Ghulam Muhamad Khan, B.A., Hony. Magistrate and Rais
- 9. Chowdhri Shahab-ud-din, B.A., LL.B.
- 10. Mirza Jalal-ud-din, M.R.A.S., Bar-at-Law
- 11. Maulvi Mahboob Alam Sahib, Editor and Proprietor, Paisa Akhbar
- 12. Khan Sahib Munshi Fakhruddin, Vice President, Municipal Committee, and Rais
- 13. Maulvi Ahmad-ud-din, B.A., Pleader
- 14. Sheikh Muhamad Omar, B.A., Bar-at-Law
- 15. Chowdhri Nabi Bakhsh Khan, B.A., LL.B.
- 16. Agha Muhamad Baqar Khan, Rais
- 17. Raja Akram-ullah Khan, Hony. Magistrate
- 18. Qazi Siraj-ud-din Ahmad, Bar-at-Law
- 19. Maulvi Fazl-ud-din Sahib, Pleader, Chief Court, Punjab
- 20. Mian Nizam-ud-din, Rais
- 21. Chowdhri Sultan Muhamad Khan, Bar-at-Law
- 22. Sheikh Abdul Haq, B.A., LL.B.

APPENDIX D

Abstract of Income and Expenditure of the All-India Muslim League up to March 18, 1908*

Date	Income	Rs. A. P.	Expenditure	Rs. A. P.
30-12-1907 to 15-2-1908	Entrance fee and annual subscription of 39 members	1,950.0.0	Salary of Munshi Abdushakoor from 16-1-1908 to 29-2-1908	22.11.9
16-2-1908 to 18-3-1908	Entrance fee and annual subscrip- tion of His High- ness Sir Aga Khan, G.C.I.E.	50.0.0	Salary of Munshi Mohd. Raza for 7 days up to 29-2-1908	2.10.6
	Donation of His Highness Sir Aga Khan, G.C.I.E.	450.0.0	Salary of Abdul- bhai, Daftari, up to 29-2-1908	7.10.6
	Entrance fee and annual subscription of 25 members	1,250.0.0	Printing charges of Urdu Rules and Regulations	20.14.3
	Mr. Ahmed Mohayy-ud-din, member of Madras	25.0.0	Printing charges of Regulation & letters	
		Telegrams up to 18-3-1908 Postage stamps Summary	74.12.0 64.10.3 90.5.0	
			 Balance Bank of Bengal Loan granted to Reception Com- 	2,300.0:0
			mittee 3. In hand of H.M. Musa Khan	386.9.6
				3,423.2.
		3,725.0.0		3,725.0,

^{*}Report of Haji Muhamad Musa Khan, op. cit.

Chapter 9

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

SECOND SESSION

Amritsar, December, 30-31, 1908

FIRST SITTING

The Second Session of the All India Muslim League Commenced on December 30, 1908 at 11:30 p.m. at Amritsar. Khan Bahadur Khwaja Yusuf Shah, President of the Reception Committee, welcoming the members said:

To speak the truth, I am quite at a loss to find words to thank those gentlemen who have nominated me as Chairman of the Reception Committee and as such have entrusted me with the most pleasant duty of welcoming the members of the All-India Muslim League that have assembled here to day. It has been very truly said that when the heart is full, language is too impotent an instrument to give due expression to the feelings of the heart; and no wonder that I find myself in still greater difficulty in being able to give adequate expression to my feelings of regard and respect towards you. The business that has brought us together here is to solve the great problem of Muslim politics and to safeguard their interests in the future administration of the country in all its important branches. I trust that the labours of the League will result in successful issue. There is, however, one thing which, with your permission, I might venture to suggest. That is that the great principle to be observed in passing our resolutions should be to give them the form of practical suggestions as far as possible, so as not to create any insurmountable difficulty in their acceptance by the Government. At the same time, it should be respectfully, but 123

emphatically brought to the notice of the benign Government that the Muslim community, though from the numerical point of view it is in the minority, considering its past history and its political importance, is after all an important and influential minority, and that in the best interests of the community, it is desirable that due consideration be shown to these points. With these few observations, I bid you Godspeed in your deliberations. Ours, gentlemen, is a righteous cause, and I fervently trust that under the providence of God and the wise guidance of our worthy President, every success will attend your efforts.

The President then took the chair and delivered the following address.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF SYED ALI IMAM

Gentlemen, I thank you heartily for the great honour you have conferred upon me by asking me to preside at your deliberations on the occasion of this the first Annual Session of the All India Muslim League held after its constitution was passed last March. To occupy the position with which you have favoured me to-day, is, to my mind, a proud privilege and, however unworthy I may possess it, I wish to assure you that the present moment is the proudest in my life. The political conditions that affect the Musalmans of India bristle with problems of much gravity; it is, therefore, greatly to be regretted that unforeseen circumstances have deprived this gathering of the presence amongst us of a leader of such exceptional ability as Syed Amir Ali, C.I.E., His vast learning, mature views and ardent love of Islam and Muslims entitle him to rank as one of the foremost Indian Musalmans of the day, eminently fitted to give the right direction to the political energy of our community.

You will miss in your deliberations on the present occasion the masterly guidance of a savant, an erudite scholar and a profound thinker. Under the circumstances, I keenly feel the weight of the responsibility placed on my shoulders for having been called upon to preside in this assembly. Political deliberations require much clearness of vision, foresight, temperate and dispassionate language, exactness of expression, sagacity, judgement, a genuine regard for the view of the opponent and no less an

appreciation of the points of his case. Overwhelmed with the conviction ofmy own short comings, I am buoyed up with confidence that the assembly in which I have the honour to preside to-day represents the intense earnestness, the high aspirations, and the elevating ideals of a community that, for all its numerical inferiority, is rich in quality of race and traditions of political perception and administrative ability. I feel assured that on the task that you have set to yourselves, the political development of your community, you will bring to bear in our proceedings the sobriety, the patience and the wisdom which are the forerunners of the success of any undertaking.

Politically speaking, the Mohammedans of India occupy a unique position. I believe it is without a parallel in the history of the world. Close upon a thousand years ago, the Arab Mohammedans scented the desert air of Sind and found its sandmounds and date-groves reminding him of Hejaz, of Arabia Felix. Since then wave upon wave of Muslim conquest has rolled over the entire length and breadth of India. In serried ranks, Musalman Royal Houses rose and fell, but Muslim domination of the country remained more or less an unbroken chain, till in comparatively more recent times supremacy hung in the balance between the Marhatta spear and the British bayonet. Islam, in its world-wide career of conquest and conversion, met on Indian soil with a resistance which had little of the admirable military prowess of the Hindus. What Hindu chivalry was powerless to protect, Hindu ethics, Hindu philosophy and Hindu social system had made impregnable. Centuries rolled by but the conqueror and the conquerred in point of nationality, character and creed suffered not from their political association. Characteristics of race and religion and political and social ideals of the two presented irreconcilabilities. Quranic teaching throws open wide the door of conversion with equal right and liberty, social and political, to the new-comer. His entrance into the brotherhood of Islam is a passport to all that is the highest and the best in that community. Islam is expansive, has the capacity to hold all nations in its embrace. Hinduism inculcates a tenacious adherence to a faith that is not proselytizing, that has encased itself within the rigidity of the caste-system and that has no catholicity. To be a Hindu one has to be a born one. Birth imposes no limitations on the Muslim. The methods of 125

theological thought of the two communities are totally different. The Muslim's severely puritanical unitarian idea of the Godhead stands in violent contrast with the beautiful but crowded mythology of the Hindu. In the East, religion enters into the very life of the people. It permeates the fabric of society, supplies the spring of individual action in everyday life, and dominates habits of thought in a measure unknown to the West. The social relations of the Indian Muslim and the Hindu have not yet received the geniality of a common dinner-table nor the sacrament or legalsanction of matrimony. The two communities, from the truly social point of view, are as far apart to-day as they were a thousand years ago. Time has not worn out any of the angularities that characterized their social systems when they first came face to face. Similarly some of their political methods have been distinct. The two communities have different notions of sovereignty. The Musalman sovereign presides in the council chamber, leads at prayer, and commands in the battlefield. He is at once the head of the State and the Church. The Hindu monarch considered it a privilege, under religious obligation, to kiss the Brahmin's toe. The Hindu Rajah has an overlord in the authority of the hierarchy. Papal Bulls had not the same terror for the crowned heads of Christian Europe as the frown of the Brahmin for a Hindu chief.

It is clear, therefore, that, apart from ethnic diversity of character, the two communities have nothing in common in their traditional, religious, social and political conceptions. There must be something imperishable in the cherished beliefs of both. Each has so far passionately clung to its own. Indeed there is much in Hinduism that evokes admiration. It is indestructible. It is perfect and complete in itself. Its foundation is laid in the innermost recesses of the sentiments and emotions of its people. It is a magnificently organized system, each part in faultless coordination with the rest. Hide-bound, it has lived down the influence of ages of alien rule. On the other hand, the vitality and robustness of Islamic principles made it impossible for the conqueror to be absorbed in the civilization of the land where he had come to stay. The soul-stirring preaching that followed the descent of the Great Prophet from Mount Hera has given mankind the essence of a rational and living faith. The trumpet call of Mohammad to duty, to righteousness, to Islam have left

undying echoes. Under such conditions the fusion of the two, Hinduism and Islam, could not be predicated. The verdict of history is that, in holding India under subjection for centuries, the Mohammedan held only her body and not her soul. For political ends, for the happiness of the country as a whole and the formation of a flourishing commonwealth, the relation of the two communities was anomalous and out of joint. The keensighted statesmanship of the great Akbar saw this and aimed at unification by conciliation, compromise and concession in religious, social and political directions. A long and tolerant reign of about 50 years proved the failure of the experiment. Unification demands absorption and obliteration of the old landmarks of differences and divergences. The imperial reformer at best achieved a friendly understanding with his Hindu subjects, which resulted more from the consciousness of a just liberal government than any acceptance of the ethics of Islam or its religious, social and political principles. The innate difference of creed and character, of race and tradition and of social and political ideas remained ready to spring into active hostility as soon as a favourable opportunity presented itself. Aurangzeb saw, no less than his great-grandfather, the political necessity of unification. He adopted, however, the desperate and hazardous method of religious intolerance and forcible conversion. The experiment failed again. Prejudices and practices of both the communities, sanctified by the observance of ages, defied cohesion. Persuation and persecution equally proved futile. With the weakening of administrative control, the Musalman found himself isolated. New Hindu powers rose in rebellion round the tottering throne of the Mogul. The strife had all the character of a crusade, and the disruption was but the reflexion of the irreconcilability of Hinduistic with Islamic conceptions.

It was at this period when the country was torn and bleeding, when sectarian passions and prejudices had leapt up from their hidden lairs, and when Islam, whatever of it that was in India, was on the brink of an inglorious annihilation, that an inscrutable providence ordained the advent of a power that gave the country peace and religious toleration, that vanquished the forces of anarchy and disorder, and that introduced a form of government that paralysed the hand of fanaticism. The coming of the British into the country was the signal for

Hinduism and Islam to retire, each within its own limits. It gave the land a strong and well-ordered form of administration that respects the personal law and religious principles and prejudices of all communities so long as they do not interfere with the general peace of the country. It is idle to deny that, however fortuitously, one immediate manifestation of British rule in India was the complete immunity the Indian Musalmans received from the not unnatural but fierce resentment of the Hindu. A new era dawned on the destinies of the vast continent of India, a morning full of promise and hope, of intellectual advancement and material prosperity. The impact of the Western methods of administration, the characteristically generous desire to govern in deference to popular views and the inauguration of a high-souled policy of public instruction, have created in the last 50 years aspirations and political perceptions which the people of India had never felt before. A free press. and till very recently an irresponsible press, public speaking, and similarly till very recently an unrestrained public speaking, have engendered indefinite and vague ideas of home rule, selfgovernment, autonomy and Swaraj among many other political conundrums that have brought about an unrest which has in the present day occupied the anxious thoughts of many friends of India, both among the rulers and the ruled. It is impossible for a thoughtful man to approach the subject without regard to the pathetic side of the present situation. It is the liberalism of the great British nation that has taught Indians, through the medium of English education, to admire democratic institutions, to hold the rights of the people sacred above all rights, and to claim for their voice first place in the government of the country. The mind of those upon three generations of the educated classes in the land has been fed on the ideas of John Stuart Mill, Milton, Burke, Sheridan and Shelley, has been filled with the great lessons obtainable from chapters of the constitutional history of England, and has been influenced by inexpressible considerations arising out of the American War of Independence, the relation of Great Britain with her colonies, and last. though not least, the grant of autonomy to the Boers after their subjugation at an enormous sacrifice of men and money. The bitterest critic of the educated Indian will not hold him to blame for his present state of mind.

It is the English who have carefully prepared the ground and sown the seed that has germinated into what some of them are now disposed to consider to be noxious weed. It will be a dwarfed imagination, however, that will condemn the educational policy of the large-hearted and liberal minded Englishmen who laid its foundation in this country. Those who inaugurated it aimed at raising the people to the level where co-operation and the good understanding between the rulers and the ruled is possible. Under the circumstances, the desire of the educated Indian to take a prominent part in the administration of his country is neither unnatural nor unexpected. The gracious proclamation of Her Late Majesty Queen Victoria, our loved and revered Malaka Moazzama, issued in 1858, contributed in no small measure to give shape to Indian aspirations. Among other messages of hope and peace not the least luminous was that her subjects of "whatever race or creed should be freely and impartially admitted to offices in her service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity duly to discharge." Since the promulgation of this Proclamation the country has enjoyed the inestimable blessings of internal peace. Education has taken long strides, commercial enterprise has shown enormous activity, industrial, agricultural and economic resources have developed, sanitation has improved, free medical aid has been brought within the reach of all, and the administration of the Public Works Department has been a monumental success. Railways and canals, roads and bridges and postal and telegraphic facilities have annihilated distance and brought distant provinces of the country within intelligent touch of each other. High offices of State, both administrative and judicial, have been filled by Indians. Bengal has seen the highest Executive Office next to the Lieutenant-Governor and the highest Judicial Office next to no one held by Indians. A liberal Secretary of State has reserved two seats on his Council for Indians, and the selection of the Honourable Syed Husain Bilgrami, C.S.I., to represent our community in that august assembly is a recognition of his towering personality among the Musalmans of India. It is a selection of which we are justly proud. There are expectations in the near future of the appointment of an Indian to the membership of the Executive Council of the Viceroy, and I have no doubt the country can furnish

men of the necessary education, ability and integrity duly to discharge the duties of the Viceregal colleague. As long as there are men of the necessary accomplishment amongst us, our community need not despair of seeing its representative occupy the proposed place. Recent appointments of Indian Musalmans to high judicial posts in different provinces of the country is indicative of the desire of the Government to co-operate with the Indian Musalmans in the work of administration with as much willingness and cordiality as with other communities. Given the necessary qualification of education, ability and integrity, the protection of the special interests of the Mohammedans demands their admission to high offices of State. Where the requisite efficiency is forthcoming, it is but the adjustment of political balance to admit Indians of all races and creeds to the public service. His Excellency the Viceroy very rightly emphasized the wisdom of this principle when in his speech in the Council on the occasion of the passing of the Sedition Bill he gave expression to these words: "I repudiate once for all the insinuation that has sometimes reached me that the Government of India has for political reasons favoured the interests of one community against those of another. It has been the pride of the British Raj to balance without prejudice the claims of nationalities, of religions and of castes. It will continue to do so." It is clear therefore that, while developing the material resources of the country, the Government has not been regardless of its duty to invite and to admit the people of the country to share the responsibilities of administration. The grant of local self-government, the concession of the right of interpellation, the recognition of popular associations and corporations to send their representatives to the Legislative Chambers of the country, the tendency to encourage useful discussion in budget speeches, and the keen desire to take the natural leaders of the people into the confidence of Government before a measure is passed into law, are but emphatic expressions of appreciation of the popular element in the transaction of the affairs of State. With fostering care, for years the Government has from time to time introduced institutions and encouraged methods that have abundantly furnished opportunity for political training.

Above all, one not the least remarkable development of the results of British occupation of the country is that India has

come to acquire a common language. English is now a common medium of exchange of ideas from one end of the country to the other. It has drawn the myriad races and communities of India closer together than ever before. Material, intellectual and political activities have brought about conditions of which the educated Indian is the embodiment. Hindu or Mohammedan. Parsee or Christian, intellectually the educated Indians have drawn nourishment from one and the same feeding-bottle, the great liberalizing influence of the great British race. With all the theological, social and ethnic differences between communities in India, it is futile to question the fact that the educated Indians, of whatever race they may be, have acquired a common attitude of thought relating to the land of their birth. There seems to be unanimity in the sentiment of love for the mother country. The passion to serve her, to advance her material and moral prosperity and to ameliorate her general condition, has taken firm root in the breast of the educated Indians. We, the educated Musalmans of India, have no less love for the land of our birth than the members of the other communities inhabiting the country. India is not only the land of our birth, we are tied to her by the sacred association of ages. We yield to none in veneration of and affection for our motherland. All our hopes and all our aspirations are wrapped up in the general advancement of our country, an advancement all along the line, giving protection and preferment to all her children alike without any invidious distinction. England may well be congratulated on the success of the result of her undertaking.

It was a proud moment when last June at the Indian Civil Service dinner in London, Lord Morley made reference to the awakening in India. Addressing his hosts, His Lordship said: "It would be idle to deny that there is at this moment, and there has been for some little time past, and very likely there will be for some time to come, a living movement in the mind of those people for whom you are responsible. A living movement and a movement for what? A movement for objects which we ourselves have all taught them to think desirable objects." It has gratefully to be acknowledged that British rule has given the peoples of India a common platform where they can come together, and from where it is possible for them to proclaim a broad-based patriotism that will hold in loving solicitude the

interests of all the races and creeds that inhabit our vast country. From the point of view of race and creed, two communities only stand forth most prominently out of the large group that forms the Indian population. These two are the great Hindu community, embracing nearly four fifths of the inhabitants of British India, and the no less important community, the Musalmans of India, that make up between one fifth and one fourth of the entire population. True, the significance of the Indian Musalmans in point of number, though over 62 millions, is not very large when compared with the number of their Hindu countrymen. But the civilized portions of the country classified as Hindu take away in no small measure from the strength of the Hindu community as a numerical majority, and thereby accord the Musalmans a larger proportion to the real Hindu majority. The importance of the Musalmans of India, however, if not based in their comparative numerical strength, is incalculably great on grounds of political considerations, as was pointed out in the Address presented by the famous Mohammedan Deputation at Simla two years ago to His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Minto. That Address, in urging the claims of the Mohammedan community, drew attention to "the value of the contribution which they make to the defence of the Empire", as also to "the position which they occupied in India a little more than a hundred years ago, and of which the traditions have naturally not faded from their minds". His Excellency's reply dealing with the position taken in the Address recognized its validity in these words: "You justly claim that your position should be estimated not merely on your numerical strength but in respect to the political importance of your community and the service it has rendered to the Empire. I am entirely in accord with you." But, gentlemen, it is not necessary that the political importance of the Indian Musalmans should be, as it has been, ratified by Viceregal utterances. Our Hindu countrymen have paid us the just compliment. time after time, to say that their great organization, the Indian National Congress, remains incomplete as a political agency without the Musalmans freely participating in its activities. In the last 23 years, leaders of that assembly have been at great pains to draw the Musalmans of India to their annual deliberations. Indeed, from about September when the sittings of the

Congress are about to be held, the political importance of Musalman co-operation is openly preached. Exhortations from the platform rend the air and publications from the press carry far and wide to Musalmans the invitation to join. The reasons why the Musalmans of India have not responded to the appeal of the Congress leaders, I will dwell upon later.

I am at this stage of my discourse concerned with impressing upon you the consideration that you are a great community, that in the political affairs of the country you hold a place of unique importance, and it is your duty to realize fully the responsibility attaching to the position you occupy. Indifference to the political developments of the country and disregard of the phase through which these developments are passing are not possible any more. Side by side with the political activities of the Indian National Congress, the educational activity of the Musalmans has proceeded at no ordinary pace. It was stimulated thanks to the efforts of the Mohammedan Association by the well-known Government Resolution of 1885, which secures state encouragement to education among the Mohammedans and their employment in the Public Service. Consecration of lifelong devotion to the cause by private individuals was not wanting. The genius of our Grand Old Man, the Late Sir Syed, the burning eloquence of his late coadjutor, our Mehdi, the untiring energy of our Mushtaq, the inspiring songs of Hali, the thoughtful writings of Nazir Ahmad, and the learned disquisitions of Shibly have done their work. They spurred on the Mohammedans to take to Western learning and their efforts have been crowned with success, and the inevitable result is that the younger generation of Indian Musalmans is not in a frame of mind to eschew politics. It may be, it is not yet, in the words of Lord Morley, "intoxicated with the ideas of freedom, of nationality and self-government," but, I say, it has sipped the strong wine of the intellectual vintage of Mill and Burke. It was some consideration of this sort that prompted a significant statement in the Simla Deputation Address: "Recent events have stirred up feelings, specially among the younger generation of Mohammedans, which might, in certain circumstances and under certain contingencies, easily pass beyond the control of temperate counsel and sober guidance." The Mohammedan community, I feel persuaded, is confronted with problems of

great political import.

One of the questions that the community had before it was whether its political requirements in relation to Government and to its countrymen of other races and creeds called for a separate political organization. The answer to this has been the founding of the All-India Muslim League. It is nearly a decade since Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk Bahadur called an informal meeting of leading Mohammedans of India at the house of my esteemed friend Mr. Hamid Ali Khan of Lucknow, I was present in that meeting. After the necessary deliberations, the gathering broke up and all of us who had taken part in it felt the absolute necessity of a political organization of our own. Two years ago that necessity became an urgent call which terminated in the Simla Deputation. On the occasion of the Deputation, advantage was taken of such a representative gathering, and the 35 signatories to the Address formed a band for the political organization of their people. A few months later, under the hospitality of that generous nobleman, the noble Premier of East Bengal, the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, the foundation was laid. Last year Karachi saw that prince of merchants, Sir Adamji Peerbhoy, deliver the inaugural address. It was there that the constitution was framed, which an Extraordinary Sitting of the League passed last March at Aligarh; thereafter the acceptance of the presidential chair of the League by His Highness the Aga Khan was universally acclaimed by Indian Musalmans as the pledge of the stability of the organization. The presence of representative Musalmans from all the different parts of India in our gathering to-day is an assurance that the community has realized its political responsibility and that it is answerable for stewardship to the younger generation both within itself and without. We indentify ourselves with all that aims at the general advancement of the true interests of the country. We have a rooted conviction that the true interests of the country lie in the maintenance of cordial relations among the Indian communities. and that the true political ideal is the one that aims at peaceful progress of such a national character as subserves the protection and advancement of the interests of all denominations.

Gentlemen, I claim for the League responsibility for working out political amelioration not only for the Musalmans but for all races that inhabit our beloved country, India. I assert that ours is not a mission narrowed down to self-seeking and sectarian aggression. I repudiate the suggestion that the League is in opposition to other political organizations of the country and that it has given a blank cheque to Government. We reserve the right of frankly, fearlessly and boldly criticizing the measures of Government; we reserve the right to protest, howsoever respectfully, against the continuance of certain of its methods; we reserve the right to refuse to believe in the soundness of a particular policy of it; and we also reserve the right of standing shoulder to shoulder with our brethren of other denominations when we find our country suffering under a real grievance. But at the same time we declare that in our relations with Government we will not permit malice to cross our path, warp our judgement and create disaffection.

Gentlemen, in these days of political tribulation and unrest, professions of loyalty stand on slippery ground. But this I will say that, apart from ethical aspects of loyalty to the British Crown, the best sense of the country recognizes the fact that the progress of India rests on the maintenance of order and internal peace, and that order and internal peace, in view of the conditions obtaining in our country at present and for a very long time to come, immeasureably long time to come, spell British occupation. British occupation not in the thin and diluted form in which Canada, Australia and South Africa stand in relation to England, but British occupation in the sense in which our country has enjoyed internal peace during the last 50 years. Believe me that as long as we have not learnt to overcome sectarian aggressiveness, to rise above prejudices based on diversity of races, religions and languages, and to alter the alarming conditions of violent intellectual disparity among the peoples of India, so long British occupation is the principal element in the progress of the country. The need of India is to recognize that true patriotism lies in taking measure of the conditions existing in fact and devoting oneself to amelioration. Idealism may be enchanting but has little place in practical politics.

The idealistic Swaraj, as understood in the light of a Calcutta High Court ruling, is a fascinating picture, but their Lordships who delivered that judgement were not concerned with the political inadaptability of the moral it teaches; they were concerned only with the question whether it teaches any thing

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unlawful. Now, no one can claim that to advocate the grant of Swaraj to India as understood by their Lordships is unlawful or treasonable, but I do think that there are strong and valid reasons to hold that it will be the biggest political blunder for the peoples of India to ask, and the British Parliament to grant it, in the near or even the measurably remote future. I admit it is difficult to detect treason if the self-government of the idealist is, as put by that eminent countryman of ours, Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, "autonomy within the Empire and not absolute independence". But, gentlemen, the entire population of India is not made up of lawyers nor is it concerned with legal subtleties. What disastrous consequences may not flow by the lay public acquiring notions of Swaraj without the capacity to understand the technicalities on which their Lordship's decision is based. Swaraj or self-government, autonomy or a self-governing Member of the Empire, in other words, home rule under the aegis of the British Crown in India, is possible only when racial, religious, social and intellectual disparities are removed, and a fusion has levelled down characteristics of separate dominations to a plane where the pulsations of a common national life are the most prominent features.

I cannot say what you think, but when I find the most advanced province of India put forward the sectarian cry of 'Bande Mataram' as the national cry, and the sectarian Rakhibandhan as a national observance, my heart is filled with despair and disappointment; and the suspicion that, under the cloak of nationalism, Hindu nationalism is preached in India, becomes a conviction. Has the experiment tried by Akbar and Aurangzeb failed again? Has 50 years of the peaceful spread of English education given the country only a revival of denominationalism? Gentlemen, do not misunderstand me. I believe that the establishment of conferences, associations and corporate bodies in different communities on denominational lines are necessary to give expression to denominational views, so that the builders of a truly national life in the country may have before them the crystallized needs and aspirations of all sects. In this connection, every lover of India will welcome such institutions as the Kayestha Conference, the Bhuinhar Conference, the Rajput Conference, Mohammedan anjumans and conferences, the associations of the domiciled community, and all such denominational institutions. Such activities help to bring into focus the thoughts of all sections of the population of India. Regard for the feelings and sentiments, needs and requirements of all is the key-note to true Indian nationalization. It is far more imperative where the susceptibilities of the two great communities, Hindus and Musalmans, are involved. Unreconciled, one will be as great a drag on the wheel of national progress as the other. I ask the architects of Indian nationalism, both in Calcutta and Poona, do they expect the Musalmans of India to accept 'Bande Mataram' and the Sivaji Celebration? The Mohammedans may be weak in anything you please, but they are not weak in cherishing the traditions of their glorious past. I pray the Congress leaders to put before the country such a programme of political advancement as does not demand the sacrifice of the feelings of the Hindu or the Mohammedan, the Parsee or the Christian.

The preparation for self-government does not consist in merely insisting on it year after year in language that fires the imagination of the educated classes of the country into uncontrollable and fatal excesses, as is too painfully manifested in what is happening in Bengal. It does not consist in launching forth on the troubled waters of Indian politics the frail bark of Swaraj without care of its seaworthiness. Does Swaraj mean transfer of control, from the British to the peoples of India, of all internal affairs of the country, legislation, finance, administration of civil and criminal justice, police, state education, military service? I suppose this is what is contemplated by Article I of the Allahabad Convention Committee. That Article sums up the object of the Indian National Congress to be "the attainment by the people of India of a system of government similar to that enjoyed by the Self-Governing Members of the British Empire". As a mere ideal without any reference to the conditions prevailing in India it is unexceptionable. Utopia is not unimaginable. But that it should furnish a basis in practical politics to divide off into moderates and extremists is incomprehensible. Have politicians of these two cults considered the futility of a schism that is engaged in laying down irreconcilable lines of policy for conditions that are not likely to be possible even in any measurably remote future? Is it wise to weaken the solidarity of political unity? Have we Indians put our own house in order? Have the Hindu and Mohammedans sunk

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their many differences? What has kept the Mohammedans as a people away from the Indian National Congress? It was, I say, this very demand for the transfer of legislative and administrative control from the rulers to the ruled; in other words, that the ruling authority should vest in the party that commands a majority of votes in the Council Chambers of the Indian Autonomy. It did not require much imagination to see that such a majority would be the Hindu majority. What did the suggested change of masters signify? Twenty-one years ago Sir Syed answered the question in his memorable Lucknow speech, and that answer has been for over two decades the rule of conduct for the Mohammedans of India in relation to the Congress. The All-India Muslim League has to answer that very question again. Should the Mohammedans of India accept the views of what was the Indian National Congress before the fateful and abortive Surat sitting? It seems to me that there are many questions of practical politics where the interests of the two communities are identical, and that insofar as these questions go, there is no earthly reason why the League should not hold out its hand in loving and patriotic grasp to the Congress.

The separation of the judicial from the executive, the repeal of degrading Colonial Ordinances, the extension of primary education, the adoption of measures of sanitation, the admission of Indians of all races in larger numbers into the higher branches of the public service, discontinuance of official interference in matters of local self-government, reasonable reduction of military expenditure without endangering efficiency, recognition of the legitimate and patriotic desire of the warlike races of India to render military service as volunteers, the grant of commissions in the army to Indians, equitable adjustment of Home Charges, limitation of revenue on land belonging to the State, establishment and development of village unions for the disposal of petty civil and criminal cases, encouragement and protection of indigenous arts and industries, the eradication of insolence, on one hand, and feeling of inferiority and mortification, on the other, between the rulers and the ruled, are some of the many grave questions of practical politics in India that equally affect all classes of our countrymen. I deny the accusation that the Mohammedans of India have not either the capacity to understand the value of co-operation for the accomplish-

ment of reforms or the courage to face official disapprobation. Gentlemen, Mohammedan political foresight and Mohammedan courage do not require any advocacy. The world has seen enough of both to judge that they are wanting in neither. Why is it then that we have hold aloof from the Indian National Congress? Not because we do not want co-operation, not because we do not feel the urgency and wisdom of the reforms mentioned above and others of their kind, and not because we suffer from any nervous or morbid fear of the rulers, but because the Indian National Congress does not only seek reforms such as are described above. It wants far more. To ask our rulers for specific measures of reform is to admit and recognize the necessity of their control, but to ask them to hand over that control is to ask them, however politely, to take to their ships and return from India. To ask for the latter is to ask for a change of government, and to press for the former would be, as put in Article I of the Allahabad Convention, "a steady reform of the existing system of administration". It is obvious that the existing system of administration is not "a system of government similar to that enjoyed by the Self-Governing Members of the British Empire". That article puts the latter as the object of the Congress and the reform of the former as the method of attainment.

It seems to me therefore that to attain the object, the method suggested would not be 'reform', however steady, of the 'existing system', but its extinction. The article does not seem to seek reform but revolution, though bloodless. Surely the Indian public has a right to have more light thrown on the meaning of that article. A shrewd suspicion may read between the lines and find the genesis of the inconsistency in the desire to pull together men of different shades of political views, loyalists, ultra-moderates, moderates and those verging on extremism. The desire is laudable, but the modus operandi questionable. It is possible to hide in dialectic obscurity the differences of basic principles for a time, but it will be blind folly to hope they will remain there. I wonder how those who have gone to Madras interpret "steady reform of the existing system of administration". If it really means extinction, the language of the Convention may serve to capture the unwary but not to captivate him. It resolves itself into the ideal put forward by Indian National

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Congress year after year. The moderate wants autonomy or representative government under the aegis of the British Crown, and the extremist wants the same but without the fiction of the aegis. They both desire the extinction and not the reform of the present system of administration. Canada and Australia are tied to England by sentiments of race, character and creed, and their continuance as such under the aegis of the British Crown, as long as they are not treated with unpolitic interference, has an intelligent basis. The grant of autonomy to the Boers is of too recent a date to prognosticate that the aegis will be respected. In the case of America the aegis proved too brittle to survive the effects of the Boston Port Bill. In the light of the differences of social, moral and religious standards of England and India, and the diversity of race, character and creed between the ruler and the ruled, one may be pardoned for thinking that of the two ideals, however impracticable both, the one of the extremist, though steeped in treason, is not disingenuous. It definitely sets before the country the honest version that if self-government is attained by India, the British may not flatter themselves with the belief that they will have the slender thread of the aegis to connect them with this country. The moderate hopes to hasten self-government by giving assurances of profound loyalty to the aegis, and with such assurances asks for autonomy. But gentlemen is this all that is needed for India? The ideal of the one or of the other? Is the present need of India contemplation of ideals? Has the good sense of the country run away with the notion that self-government is to be built in the land from the apex and not the base?

I crave your indulgence to quote from a speech that I delivered when I had the honour to preside at the first session of the Bihar Provincial Conference. "To my mind the greater problem is how to equip ourselves for receiving and assimilating the amenities and advantages of self-government, than an insistence on the right to enjoy a privilege which, once we have reached the requisite efficiency, can no more be denied than the truth that water finds its own level. I consider that in the development of national life in India there is far less danger from without than from within." Have the apostles of Indian autonomy given us, up to this time, any indication how their great ideal will maintain internal peace, what will be its relation to the

ruling chiefs, what will be the features of its military administration, how will it adjust the difference of standards of morality in its scheme of national education, how will it conduct itself in the devious and difficult paths of foreign policy, what guarantee will it give to capitalists of other countries who have their millions vested in India, what protection will it accord to the domiciled European, how will it get over the dangers of intellectual disparity between races and sexes in India, and how will it reconcile religious, social and racial antipathies? Are religion, society and politics watertight compartments? Can you separate politics from the other two? If a religious procession, the slaughter of a particular animal, the moral of Bunkim's plot in Anund Muth, the preachings of fanatics in East Bengal or any other part of India, and numerous other subjects connected with religion, inflame the mind, it is insanity to dissociate Indian politics from them. Surely gentlemen, the mere elevation of an ideal is no title to its serious acceptance. True states manship is to work for the highest public good realizable. Before self-government, our ideal should be 'United India'—united in a patriotism that leaves distant and visionary ideals to moulder in the vagueness and impracticability of their conception, and that addresses itself to working on non-controversial lines. How true are the words of the president of the unfortunate Surat Sitting of the Congress in his undelivered speech. He said: "hasty maxims drawn from the history of other nations and other times are extremely dangerous, as the conditions are never the same, and action which produces certain results in one country at one time may lead to a directly opposite result in another country and at another time." Has not this ideal of self-government, however elevated, caused impatience on account of its impracticability, and has not the impatience carried the idealist off his feet, and has not this loss of equipoise created extremism, and has not extremism given birth to anarchism, bombs, secret societies and assassination, and is not all this the greatest menace to the peaceful progress of the country?

Gentlemen, does the contemplation of an almost impossible ideal compensate for all the repressive measures that have been passed in the last two years? Resurrection of Regulation 3 of 1818, the Ordinance of May 1907, the Seditious Meetings Act, the Newspaper (incitement to offences) Act, and the Indian

Criminal Law Amendment Act are the bitter fruits of misspent labour of the idealist in the last two decades. These Acts may be a reproach to the Statute Book, but who is responsible for the reproach? The responsibility lies with those who, infatuated with the seductions of an idealistic but impracticable autonomy, have caused widespread intellectual distempter among the educated Indians, a distemper utterly regardless of surroundings, of expediency and of the best interests of the country. The gospel of representative government in India has been preached with reckless carelessness, and the energy of the educated intellect of the country has been employed for the creation of longings the fulfilment of which within any measurable distance of time is impossible. The result is a sullen, disappointed, demoralized and morbid disposition in the best portion of the national asset of the country—the educated Indians.

Is this not sufficiently deplorable a state of affairs to serve as a warning to us, Musalmans? Has not the League a right to beseech the Congress leaders not to prolong the agony any more, imperil the safety of the country any further and jeopardize peaceful progress by a profitless devotion to a chimera? Let the Indian National Congress shake itself free from the baneful blandishments of "Self-Governing member of the British Empire"; and let it announce that in our practical politics, loyalty to the British administration of the country is loyalty to India, and that the reform of the 'existing system' is possible only with the maintenance of British control. Gentlemen, I am not putting this supplication forward in any spirit of cavil, but solely with a view to bringing about an entente cordiale between the Indian National Congress and the great community that you represent—and also with a view that in the great work of the regeneration of India, the firm but guiding hand of our rulers may be in comradeship with our own. As long as the leaders of the Indian National Congress will not give us a workable policy like the one indicated above, so long the All-India Muslim League has a sacred duty to perform. That duty is to save the community it represents, and specially the youth of that community, from the political error of joining an organization that in the main, as put by Lord Morley, cries for the moon.

There is another matter not of principle but of procedure that influences the question of the participation of the Musalmans

in the deliberations of the Congress. The Allahabad Convention with the best of motives has adopted the conciliatory measure contained in its Article XXVI. That article lays down the procedure that in the Subject Committee or in the Congress no subject shall be introduced to which the Hindu or Mohammedan delegates may object as a body by a majority of three-fourths of their number. I have read much in papers, so also in a contribution to the Hindustan Review by Mr. Abbas Tyabji, of the soundness of the safeguard this Article provides for the protection of minorities. It is with the greatest deference to the framers of that Article and its admirers that I venture to point out that this safeguard does not count for much as long as the number of delegates to the Congress is not fixed, and as long as the minorities do not have their own denominational electoral colleges. For it is quite obvious that when an unlimited number of delegates are permitted to attend the Congress, the few simple souls of our community who may join the Congress with the genuine desire of serving Indian Mussalmans in that body may find themselves swamped by their own co-religionists, no doubt, but mandatories of non-Muslim electorates. For the principle of the protection of minorities, it is necessary that a minority should feel and enjoy absolute security in its own solidarity, which is impossible without a denominational basis. I believe this was recognized in the scheme of the reform of Councils, and therefore a separate electorate for the Musalmans was considered necessary. Once the Congress Convention has recognized the wisdom of the unqualified protection of the minorities. I have no doubt it will see the necessity of carrying Article XXVI to its logical conclusion.

It seems to me therefore, gentlemen, that should the Indian National Congress in the two particulars mentioned above, the one of the policy underlying the abandonment of an unrealizable ideal and the other of the procedure affecting the protection of minorities, be pleased to reconsider its position, there is every hope that the aspiration of the All-India Muslim League-United India—may be realized in the near future. It is then alone that Mohammedans can work with Hindus on non-controversial lines. I may take the liberty of mentioning that we have made a beginning in this direction in Bihar, and that the Bihar Provincial Conference held last April at Patna brought

Hindus and Mohammedans together because it resolved to work on a non-controversial and practical basis. Gentlemen, should my feeble voice ever reach the ears of such stalwart leaders of the Indian National Congress as Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, Mr. Gokhle and Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, I pray them to believe in the earnestness of my appeal. The creed of the All-India Muslim League is co-operation with the rulers, co-operation with our non-Muslim countrymen and solidarity amongst ourselves. This is our idea of United India.

Gentlemen, I fear I have already trespassed too long on your patience, but I cannot close my address without an appeal to all my Musalman breathren of India, of whatever persuasion they may be, that the one paramount duty they owe to their king, country and themselves is the maintenance of a strong and powerful solidarity within their own community. We must not forget that division amongst ourselves means sacrifice and surrender of our political position. Gentlemen, if you desire your voice to be heard in the land, you must strive for and maintain unity amongst yourselves. The Government and your non-Muslim countrymen have equal need of your services. It is your duty to support and uphold the Government in the measures it has adopted to stamp out lawlessness, sedition and anarchism. It is your duty equally to co-operate with your non-Muslim countrymen in praying Government to inaugurate a policy of steady reform and courageous conciliation consistent with the dignity and integrity of British control. Gentlemen, the country is passing through the throes of a political convulsion. Of all times, this is the one when, in serving the best interests of the country, you should stand together and make your presence felt in the proper and happy adjustment of the relations between the rulers and the ruled. Can you do so without unity amongst yourselves? Without an absolute political solidarity your position is full of peril, and I implore you to unite to exist.

Gentlemen, the last Despatch of Lord Morley to His Excellency the Viceroy on the scheme of the Reform of Councils, seems to overlook the principle that representation to minorities must have its origin in a denominational basis from the very start to finish, from the first voting unit to the elected representative. Without this the Musalmans cannot hope to secure the true protection which their interests demand. Hasty expression

to my views on this Despatch, received last week, I hesitate to give; but the principle involved is of vital consequences to our community, and a united expression of our views alone can save us from the perils of imperfection contained in the Despatch. Gentlemen, I again call upon you to unite. It is a solemn and sacred duty you owe to yourself and to your posterity.¹

SECOND SITTING

The second sitting lasted from 2-30 p.m. to 6 p.m., and was devoted to the consideration of the Reform Scheme of the Government of India and the recent Despatch of the Secretary of State. The following three Resolutions were moved from the Chair:

RESOLUTION I

That the All-India Muslim League begs to express its grateful thanks to the Right Honourable the Lord Morley, the Secretary of State for India, and His Excellency Lord Minto, the Viceroy, for the broad and general policy foreshadowed in the Despatch dealing with the Reform Scheme.

RESOLUTION II

That the All-India Muslim League regrets that the Secretary of State for India has not explicitly confirmed in his Despatch on the Scheme of Reforms of Councils the just pronouncement of His Excellency the Viceroy, in reply to the address presented by a Deputation of Musalmans in October 1906, that in consideration of the value of contributions which the Musalmans make to the defence of the Empire and in view of the position which they occupied in India until recently, His Excellency was in entire accord with the members of the Deputation, who, in His Excellency's opinion, justly claimed that the position of the Musalmans should be estimated not merely by their numerical

1. Speech of Syed Ali Imam, Bar-at-Law, President of the All-India Muslim League, Amritsar Session, 1908. Printed by Panch Kory Mittra at the Indian Press, Allahabad.

strength but in respect to the political importance of their community and the services it has rendered to the Empire, and this League trusts that important pronouncement will specially be confirmed by the Secretary of State and given practical recognition in fixing the proportion of seats on the Councils to be filled in by purely Mohammedan electorates.

RESOLUTION III

That whereas the language of paragraph 12 of the Despatch of the Secretary of State dealing with the Scheme of Reform of Councils is such as has possibly engendered in the mind of some of the loyal Indian Mohammedans the incorrect impression that the paragraph in question suggests the grant of separate and denominational representation to the Mohammedans of India; and whereas the All-India Muslim League regards such impression to be solely due to an optimism that proceeds from the unqualified trust the Indian Mohammedans have traditionally reposed in the justice and impartiality of the British Government, the All-India Muslim League deems it to be its duty to deplore the vagueness of the language of that paragraph, and most regretfully construes it to mean that the scheme of representation of the minorities contained in the said paragraph does not and cannot secure the protection which is intended to be given to such communities, as the creation of non-denominational electorates whether original or intermediary, precludes the possibility of the successful election of the real representatives of minorities, and that mere reservation of a certain number of seats on Imperial and Provincial Councils in favour of such communities without any system of denominational representation from the first voting units to the representatives in the Council Chambers will end in the return of such members of minorities as are only mandatories of majorities and that under the circumstances the All-India Muslim League views the suggestion in paragraph 12 of the said Despatch with great alarm, and have grave apprehensions that in their present form they are sure to create dire disappointment in the Modammedan community, and that unless materially altered to suit their requirements, the essentials of which are representation on a purely denominational basis, they will mark the first breakdown of that implicit faith which Musalmans have so long placed in the care and solicitude of Government whose just pride and profession have been to hold the scales even.

Moving the above Resolutions, Syed Ali Imam said:

Since my address presented to you this morning went to press, I have had an opportunity to carefully consider some of the important aspects of the Reform foreshadowed in the famous Despatch of the Secretary of State for India, and I am glad to say that I am now in a position to place before you my views with some degree of confidence. I think, with some important reservations, a general treatment of the Reform Scheme will result in laying bare before us the two important features that seem to underlie its conception; one, and the more prominent of the two, is a jealous and vigilant insistance on the unimpaired integrity and maintenance of the Legislative and Executive control of the existing system of administration, and the other is a generous recognition of the necessity to hear what the people may have to say affecting the interests of their country. In both these particulars, Lord Morley, has, I venture to submit, given proof of statesmanship of the high order which has been long associated with his name. He has realized the danger of compromising imperial supremacy by withholding concessions that might, in the present politically undeveloped condition of the peoples of India, lead to serious conflict between races, creeds and degrees of intellectual advancement. He has also taken a correct measure of the political expediency of securing deliberative co-operation of the representatives of the people in the Council Chambers of the State.

The non-official majority in the Provincial Council and the permanently substantial official majority in the Imperial Council, taken with the frank admission with regard to the very limited scope of the Provincial Councils and unlimited concurrent power of the Imperial Council to legislate, leave no doubt in our mind that the non-official majority has been designed to be effective only as a deliberative agency and not legislative. The value of the proposals of the non-official majority has been carefully appraised as "recommendations to Government, having only such force and effect as Government after consideration shall deem due to them." No ambiguity has been allowed to

mar the retention by local governments of "the ultimate control over the financial policy of their provinces", and the discussion of the provincial budgets, however lengthy and discursive, seem to suffer from limitations that do not confer upon them anything higher than a deliberative dignity. Similarly, the extention of the range and right of interpellation has been safeguarded by subjecting it to "such restrictions as may be found requisite in practice, and to the existing general powers of the President". The proposal to create executive councils from time to time is accompanied with the proviso that a constitutional change of this kind will not be permitted at the risk of impairing 'the prompt exercise of executive control'. The sum and substance of such precautions seems to justify the conclusion that the Secretary of State is not prepared to inaugurate a system of government in which popular control, whether legislative or executive, is an element.

Gentlemen, it is obvious that this attitude of the Secretary of State is one that is not likely to commend itself to the extremists, nor do I think the moderates, after the jubilation over the dazzling glamour of a 'non-official majority' is over, will admit it to be what they had bargained for. The suggested reforms, in my humble judgement, are far short of the ideals of the extremists and the moderates. They do not give the people any share whatsoever in the government of the country, except what is advisory, scrupulously centring in the existing system of administration all legislative and executive control. Gentlemen, I am drawing your attention to the care that has been spent on this aspect of the scheme, not with any desire to discount the wisdom and the statesmanship of the new measures. but to emphasize the fact that at present the best interest of our country has been recognized in the scheme to lie in the absolute maintenance of British control. This is a principle which for a long time to come has to be kept in view for the inauguration of any measures of reform in our country. To my mind, without such security, the most perfect system of representative government would be unworkable and injudicious in a country that suffers from the unhappy internal conditions that prevail in India. I therefore think any feeling of disappointment at the complete withholding of administrative control from the people should not be permitted to mar the happy occasion of thanking and congratulating the Secretary of State and His Excellency Lord Minto for the grant to the peoples of India of the right to have their voice heard, if not necessarily acted upon, in the administration of the country. I trust that the All-India Muslim Leaguë will heartily and unanimously thank and congratulate the liberal minister and the large-hearted Viceroy who intend to provide for our country the means of bringing the rulers and the ruled near enough to understand and appreciate the views of each other.

But when I ask the League to thank, and cordially thank them, for the recognition of this principle, I do not for a moment ask it to accept the machinery that the Despatch of the Secretary of State seems to favour for the representation of the minorities. No, and emphatically not so. I regret to say that the Despatch has failed to recognize the interests of the great minority you represent in two most weighty particulars. One is that it estimates the claims of the Mohammedans by giving them a proportion of 1 to 3 to our Hindu countrymen, which may be in accordance with the numerical strength of the two communities, but is certainly not justified by the social, traditional and religious considerations attaching to the Indian Mohammedans. The test of mere numbers is dangerous and misleading. As a community, the Mohammedans contribute largely to the defence of the Empire and have also the weight of their Pan-Islamic relations to enhance the value of their position in India. I should have thought that the memorable pronouncement of His Excellency the Viceroy in reply to our Simla Deputation address, "You justly claim that your position should be estimated not merely on your numerical strength but in respect to the political importance of your community, and services it has rendered to the Empire", had once for all given Imperial recognition to our claim. I do not know how you feel, but when I contemplate the tendency of Lord Morley's Despatch to rely on numerical strength to understand the significance of our community in India, I look upon such a tendency as not only in the highest degree prejudicial to ourselves, but also as exceedingly impolitic and flagrantly unfair to the Viceregal utterances of a statesman of the levelheadedness, care and circumspection of Lord Minto. The definite and clear pronouncement of the Viceroy, and the above-mentioned tendency of the Despatch, convince me that the importance of the political position of Indian Musalmans has not been brought home to the serious consideration of the Secretary of State. I feel persuaded that a closer acquantaince with the internal problems of Indian politics will put Lord Morley in possession of facts and circumstances that will amply justify the pronouncement this great Viceroy made in reply to our address at Simla.

In this connection, I fear we have to admit that our more enterprising Hindu countrymen have successfully secured a hearing in England, and their political missionaries have preached in quarters where our voice has only to reach to be appreciated. It is to this very silence on our part that I attribute the failure of the Despatch to recognize and protect our interests in the other particular. I refer to the suggestions in the Despatch that relate to the representation of the minorities in the Councils. This subject has been principally dealt with in paragraphs 9, 11, 12 and 13 of the Despatch. Paragraph 9 enunciates the just principle that "No system of representation should be satisfactory if it did not provide for the presence in the Councils of sufficient representatives of communities so important as are the Mohammedans and the landowners." In this paragraph Lord Morley has, I think, advisedly used the expression 'representatives of communities' as distinguished from 'members of communities'. The distinction lies in the fact that a member of a community is not necessarily a representative of that community. For a representative it is essential that he should enjoy the confidence of the community he represents, and not only be a member of it. In the same paragraph, His Lordship discovers difficulties in the plan of the Viceroy to secure class representation, and distrusts the method of nomination to supply the defficiencies of election. In paragraph 11, His Lordship is, on the one hand, solicitous of maintaining the right of Mohammedans "to vote in the territorial electorates of which rural and municipal boards will afford the basis", and on the other hand, regards the exercise of such a right, in the event of also creating denominational electorates, as giving us a double vote that may be resented by other classes of the population. It might be urged before His Lordship that if the full due of the Mohammedans can be secured in the Councils by means of separate and denominational electorates of which the Mohammedan section of the rural and municipal boards may form a part, the Mohammedans will not care to court the resentment of their non-Muslim countrymen to vote again in the said boards. It has to be remembered that the Viceroy, in giving us the double vote, threw open to purely Mohammedan electorates, only a portion of the seats to which we are entitled both on political and numerical grounds; as such the double vote is only a legitimate compensation, and ought not to be the basis of any grievance to our non-Muslim countrymen. Paragraph 12 provides the machinery which, His Lordship thinks, will be superior to the one proposed by the Viceroy for the purposes of securing denominational representations; and Paragraph 13 sums up that superiority in claiming for Lord Morley's machinery merit on the following grounds:

- 1. The minorities would be protected against exclusion by majorities.
- 2. All large and important sections of the population would have the opportunity of returning members in proportion to their ratio to the total population.
- 3. Popular election, instead of requiring Government to supply defficiencies by the dubious method of nomination.

Gentlemen, the dubious method of nomination would naturally not find favour in comparison with the popular election in the eyes of such a liberal statesmen as the Secretary of State; and in the abstract, without regard to the difficulties of the conditions prevailing in our country, it has to be admitted that his choice is not one that was not expected from a statesman of Lord Morley's democratic conviction. But with due deference to abstract principles, I venture to submit that His Lordship, in the desire to brush aside 'the dubious method', has suggested a machinery in paragraph 12 which, to my mind, has swept away the protection which is admitted to be the first essential of the efficiency of the Scheme, and that is the protection of the minorities. The paragraph in question looks upon the mere reservation of seats in the Councils and in the intermediary agency, the electoral college, as a sufficient protection to have minorities from exclusion by majorities and to secure for the minorities, the ratio of "members in proportion to their ratio to the total population". Paragraph 12 of the Despatch as I understand it, I regret to have to say, utterly, fails in securing for us either of

the two measures of protection which are claimed as its principal features. Mere reservation of a certain number of seats in the electoral college mentioned in the paragraph without carrying down the denominational element to the very base of the entire structure, the first voting unit, as also without carrying the same principle up to the top, the Council Chamber, will, I am sure, prove disastrous to our community, as it will leave the minorities bound hand and foot at the mercy of the majorities. Gentlemen, it will be a system that will be eminently successful in returning to the Councils mandatories of the majorities who are 'members' of our community, no doubt, but certainly not 'representatives' of our people. It will be a system that foretells the political annihilation of our communal life. Whereas it intends to protect and preserve in its practical working, it will end in damage and destruction. Here is illustrated the peril of not relying on the advice and counsel of the man on the spot. Had Lord Morley given the suggestions of the Viceroy the considerations to which they are entitled, his Lordship, I put it most deferentially and respectfully, would not have fallen into an error that in the present condition of our country will be looked upon as a political blunder the consequences of which I fear to contemplate. I think in this hour of our peril it is our bounden duty to support and uphold the suggestions of His Excellency the Viceroy who had undoubtedly taken the correct view of the problem of class representation.

Gentlemen, I ask you to voice forth our support to the Viceroy's suggestions, and our humble but emphatic dissent from the Secretary of State's view on the question and want of acquaintance with our true political position. I pray you to unanimously pass the resolution which I have the honour to put from the Chair.

Seconding the above resolutions Mian Mohammad Shafi observed:

I rise to-day not to address a passionate appeal to your sentiments and feelings, but to ask you to go with me through the broad features of the Scheme of Reform embodied in Lord Morley's Despatch and, in view of the vital interests involved, to consider it critically and soberly in order to form a correct judgement as to the effect which this scheme will have upon the future welfare of the Indian Musalmans. The President has

placed before you for discussion three resolutions, the first of which offers the grateful thanks of the community to Lord Morley and Lord Minto generally for the proposed Scheme of Indian Reforms, apart from its particular bearing on the communal interests of the Mohammedan community, and the remaining two briefly and succinctly set out the opinions generally held by the Mohammedan community, as regards the effects which this Scheme will have upon their own interest, and embody certain demands which they regard as absolutely essential, alike to their own future welfare as well as to the welfare of the country as a whole.

Gentlemen, I take it that it is the foremost principle of Indian politics that while the 70 millions of His Majesty's Musalman subjects in India have interests in common with the rest of the populations in this country, they form a distinct community, having peculiar interests of their own, as vital as the general interests and essential to their very existence in India. This principle was clearly enunciated in the address presented to His Excellency the Viceroy by the All-India Mohammedan Deputation on October 1, 1906, and was accepted by Lord Minto as perfectly sound and fully justified by the existing political conditions, and has now been finally confirmed by Lord Morley in paragraphs 8 and 9 of his Despatch. This being so, it is absolutely clear that no scheme of Indian reform can be considered either complete or based upon a correct conception of the peculiar conditions which the British Government has to face in this country and, at all events acceptable to the Indian Musalmans. which does not adequately safeguard their interests and does not provide for their representation, not apparent but real, on the Legislative Councils and municipal and district boards. It is, therefore, absolutely clear that before any scheme of reform can be considered as entitled to our grateful thanks, it must satisfy this essential test. Of what value can any gift conferred by the Government be to us in which we have not that share to which we are justly entitled? How can I be possibly expected to offer my thanks for such a distribution of good things of this life which enable my neighbour to live in comfort and luxury. but leaves me in starvation? The Musalmans from an integral and exceedingly important part of the Indian people and no scheme of reform can be possibly considered beneficial to the

people which does not safeguard Mohammedan interests. I gladly recognize that the scheme formulated by His Excellency the Governor General in Council, after due consideration of local circumstances and based upon local knowledge of the political conditions prevailing in this country, provided for better representation, on proper lines, of all important interests on the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils, though we asked for more. I therefore freely give my support to that portion of the resolution which offers the grateful thanks of this League to Lord Minto. I am further in entire agreement with the President in thinking that it is our duty to express our gratitude to Lord Morley for his recognition of the right of our community to separate representation in the Council Chamber of the Indian Empire. But as regards the Scheme of Reform as at present embodied in Lord Morley's Despatch, while, in deference to the fact that the resolution offering the thanks of this League has been moved from the Chair, I agree to its being passed as it stands, I refuse to accept the position that we are bound to express our gratitude to the Secretary of Sate for what is said to be the Scheme of General Reform, even if, as it stands, it is calculated to materially injure our interests and to fill our minds with dire disappointment. With the other two resolutions. I am entirely in accord and do not think it necessary to add anything to what the President has already said.

The President having invited a free discussion of the resolutions, a large number of the members of the League spoke on the subject. The discussion strongly brought out the same disappointment with which Lord Morley's Despatch had filled Indian Mohammedans and served to clearly emphasize the complete unanimity of Muslim attitudes towards the Scheme as modified by the Secretary of State.

Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan explained that considering that the present movement was a turning point in the history of India and the proposed reforms promised to open a new era in the political life of the country, he agreed with the President in thanking the Secretary of State for the broad and general lines of the reforms, but protested strongly against the scheme as a whole. It was clear that if the Indian Musalmans were a distinct community and had to safeguard distinct interests, they should be placed in a position to safeguard their interests

properly. The proportion of seats allotted to them should be real and commensurate with their importance.

Moulvi Rafiuddin Ahmed pointed out that as a result of the concession made in 1882, the operations of local self-government had passed into the hands of the majority and though the Musalmans had been ever since protesting against such a condition of things, the provincial governments were now about to be placed in the same unfriendly hands. The unwisdom of granting local self-government to the people of India without a guarantee of protecting Muslim interests was unquestioned. The speaker also reminded the audience that in their opinion on the reform scheme they had asked for nine Musalman members being appointed to the Imperial Council by election; but the Secretary of State wished to reduce the number still further and limit their maximum to five; and it was most remarkable that the Mohammedans of Bombay were to share a seat with the Madras Presidency, though Sind was an entirely Muslim Province. The Simla Deputation had stated before the Viceroy that the younger generation of Indian Musalmans were not satisfied with this situation; and if His Excellency Lord Minto's reply had not been what it was, many of them in Bombay would have gone over to the Congress camp. But the Viceroy's generous reply saved the situation, which they looked upon as the Petition of Rights embodying as it did a definite promise on the part of the King Emperor's representative that the Mohammedans would be admitted to the councils and committees as a distinct community.

Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhry also spoke in favour of the resolutions. He observed:

The resolutions which we have heard from the Chair just now need our serious attention. The new reform schemes promulgated by Lord Minto and revised by Lord Morley are indeed of a very liberal nature and ought to be welcomed by all Indians as giving greater scope for a larger measure of self-government than has hitherto been initiated. The only class that will be largely benefited is the Hindu community, who have made rapid strides in educational matters. It is when the Scheme is considered in the point of view of the Mohammedan interest that we are awfully disappointed, and our condition, instead of improving will have a tendency to retrograde progress. While the race antipathy exists, as it does, the backward condition of

the Mohammedan in point of education is a serious matter to be confronted. Where are the qualified candidates to recruit members from for the electoral colleges as the provisos of the Scheme demand. The electoral colleges proposed by Lord Morley do not suit our requirements.

The next most serious question to ponder is that the Mohammedan cause will be jeopardized by the new scheme. As section 12 of Lord Morley's Scheme has it, the Hindus and Mohammedan members to Council will be returned by the entire body composing the electoral colleges. Since the Hindus in most provinces will naturally be in the majority, the Mohammedan who is more in sympathy with the Hindus may obtain more votes than another Mohammedan candidate who is preferred by the Mohammedans. Surely in that case, the Mohammedan interest will by no means be served when the right man is not elected. It sounds very well to hear that the Hindus and Mohammedans should work together in harmony, but past events are a criterion to assure us that a difference exists between the Hindus and Mohammedans, and that their interests, aims and objects cannot be one. The Mohammedans are a distinct community with interests of their own, which are not shared by the other communities. If each section returns its own members, there can be no objection entertained, but when it is left to the combined body of Hindus and Mohammedan members of the electoral college, there is a danger of not serving the sectional interest rightly and satisfactorily. Men who are in sympathy with the Hindus in their boycott policy will be elected, and thereby the community as a whole can have no chance to return the member whom they count upon as one who would serve their purpose. Section 12 of Lord Morley's Despatch may give one the idea that class representation is fully secured, but a careful perusal would dispel such an idea.

Again, the next most important point which will affect both the Mohammedan interest and the interest of the Government is the adoption of a non-official majority in the provincial council. It is utopian to expect the realization of peaceful working between the two classes; and as matters stand as they are, this Scheme of Lord Morley will not tend to the material benefit of the Mohammedans. The Mohammedans being in a small minority, the Hindus would carry before them everything to

their liking and would not care the least as to how it affects the Mohammedan interest or not. It is of the utmost importance—nay a necessity—that this should not be put into force. The present political crisis does not admit of a non-official majority, and it behoves us therefore to ask Government to see that the official majority predominates in the provincial councils not only to safeguard its rights, but also to hold an even balance between the Hindus and the Mohammedans.

Yet another point should not be lost sight of, and that is the proposed inclusion of Indian members of the Executive Council. Here again, an important class like the Mohammedan community may be represented by a Hindu. Justice demends that a community which forms a fourth or a fifth of the entire population should have its own representative, as in the Indian Council.

Mr. President and gentlemen, I have in a few words brought to your notice the great injustice that will be done to us as a community with regard to the electoral college method of voting and representation on the Executive Councils and also the nonofficial majority in the provincial councils. To safeguard the interest and the right of our community, Government should declare the number of Mohammedans entitled to seats on municipalities, district boards, local boards, and Legislative Councils, and it should be "commensurate", in the words of our appeal to His Excellency Lord Minto, "not merely with their numerical strength, but also with their political importance, and the value of the contribution which they make to the defence of the Empire" and in consideration of the "position which they occupied in India, a little more than a hundred years ago, and of which the traditions have not naturally faded from their minds."

The political importance of the community and other reasons demand that the number declared for seats on the councils be more than the ratio of the number of the Mohammedans to the total population of the province, and as provision is made for election in the electoral college for members being returned in proportion to the population, the remaining number must be returned by nomination. This, unfortunately, is lost sight of in the Scheme by Lord Morley, although, Lord Minto has mentioned it in his proposal. It is also contrary to the reply Lord

Minto gave to the All-India Mohammedan Deputation, when His Excellency was pleased to say that the Mohammedan claim would be considered according to the numerical strength and political importance of this community. In the original scheme, Lord Minto reserved four seats out of 28 and there was room for more Mohammedans being returned by election. Roughly calculating, therefore, we hoped to secure not less than eight Mohammedan members for the Imperial Council out of 28, and the League prayed for a still larger number, but the present scheme shows only five to be the maximum in enlarged Council.

With these remarks I would support the resolutions moved by the President; and I am of the opinion that in the interest of our community, we should respectfully draw the immediate attention of both Lord Morley and Lord Minto to the injustice that will be done to the community, if this paragraph 12 is not altered to suit our purpose, and embody such objections to the Scheme as are detrimental to the interest of the Mohammedan community in the form of a memorial.

Mr. Mohammad Ali said:

The views which have been expressed just now by the representative Musalmans of several provinces of India have impressed me greatly for two reasons. On the subject of offering thanks to Government opinions have differed. There are among us men who, while emphatically protesting against the inefficiency of the means of protecting the Musalman minority and the inadequacy of a reservation of seats in the Council Chambers in favour of Musalmans in proportion merely to their ratio to the total population of India, are still anxious to thank the large-hearted Secretary of State and the no less generous Viceroy for the general and broad policy of reforms fore-shadowed in the former's recent Despatch, which is rightly hoped to open a new chapter in the political life of our motherland, I myself am a humble unit in the ranks of such men. There are others among us who accept all the reservations of the group to which I belong, but are ready to thank Government not only for what is given, but also and mainly for what has rightly been withheld. I believe you, Mr. President, belong to this latter group. But there is a third group among us, entitled to great consideration not only on account of numbers but also on account of the intensity of its feeling for our co-religionists, which thinks that it would be almost hypocritical to thank anybody at the present moment, when the method devised by the final authority in the Government for our protection is honestly and rightly considered by us to be the surest means of our political annihilation. I have been greatly impressed, as I said, by this difference of opinion. But I have been still more impressed by the solid unanimity that runs through all these differences. Let us consider our position. We are representatives of our co-religionists in various parts of this Empire, and have travelled to Amritsar to discuss matters vital to our political existence.

This is no mass meeting, no huge demonstration such as we have been used to seeking and hearing of every Christmas when the Congress holds its sittings. If we come to exchange ideas and views, to discuss important questions from all possible points of view, rather than to voice only certain opinions held by a few men and decided upon long before we meet, let there be no futile effort at an artificial unanimity. Such unanimity is necessary for demonstrations and mass meetings, but it is not essential, and is in fact injurious, in a meeting such as this, when we meet primarily to exchange views and ideas and only incidentally to impress others. We speak to each other and not to a gallery. The impression that we should therefore try to make on Government and our neighbours must not be one of numbers or of a delusive unanimity, but of our respresentative character, the carefulness of our deliberations and, above all, of the soundness of our views. To arrogate to ourselves such titles as a 'National Congress' or to try to secure an artificial unanimity can only end in one thing. That road only leads to Surat.

I think that in spite of all its defects, the Scheme of Reforms which are now discussing entitles its framers to our hearty and sincere thanks and congratulations. We have changed a great deal, and on the whole for the better during the last 16 years, and the system of government must also change. Evolution is the best preventive of a revolution. Our rulers must adjust themselves to the changed circumstances of the ruled. If political myopia prevents their taking a long view of men and things, the consequences can easily be imagined. Much as we all abhor the excess of political fanatics, can we silence those who say that they are in some measure due to the tardiness of our

political evolution. Much as it may be necessary, it is always a bad policy to correct with the right arm the mistake of brain. But we can turn aside from the contemplation of recent horrors to rejoice in the future that is foreshadowed in these Reforms.

You, Mr. President, have analysed the reforms in the spirit of the lawyer and can congratulate the Reformers, not only for what has been conceded, but also for what has been withheld. My own temperament does not permit me to view them merely in their legal aspect. I like to think not only of the present but to picture to myself the glorious vision of the future. To my mind the significance of the Reforms lies not so much in what they are as in what they promise. It has been said in some quarters that the Reforms are due to a liberal government and, particularly, to Secretary of State Lord Morley's antecedents. I concur with this view to a large extent, but I feel that it is not one party, much less one person that is bound by the pledges of to-day.

I feel that the honour of the British Government, the honour of the British nation has been pledged to us for the fair promise of the future. Lord Morley and the Liberal Party have taken their stand on a policy from which no minister and no party can recede without jeopardizing the honour and the safety of the British nation. That policy is not a nation's policy, and the word of a sovereign has been given to us once more, 50 years after our Sovereign Lady Victoria gave it to us unasked. It is for this rather than for the meagre provisions of a single despatch that we should thank the Government. And if I can judge for you, I am sure you will all readily thank the Government on this score. But beyond thanks of this nature, we certainly owe nothing to the Secretary of State. The Viceroy who was conversant with the details of the situation had proposed a scheme for our representation which would have secured us a voice in the Council Chambers of the State. But the Secretary of State who had only a distant acquaintance with our peculiar position in India failed to provide for our representation, because instead of relying on the advice of the careful and circumspect Viceroy whom he has so often and so justly praised. His Lordship listened to the sanctimonious apostles of unity. I had often marvelled how a philosopher and a literary man had so long escaped the pitfalls which beset the path of such a person

when he begins to reform a world entirely different from the one in which he has himself lived and moved, without even those advantages which the much maligned 'six-week-expert' has of forming a first hand acquaintance with this new world. But even Lord Morley, who had hitherto made the needed allowance for such a difference in not rushing into reforms that did not suit India, at last failed to recognize one of the most important differences between Great Britain and our own country. This difference is that in India the line of cleavage between various political interests is not territorial but denominational. Moreover, in India the religious creed of man does not only stand for his relation which his Maker and is not only a spiritual difference; it has in the course of many centuries become a strong temporal difference, and stands for a different outlook on life, different mode of living, different temperament and necessarily different politics.

It is indeed curious that a philosopher like Lord Morley should have mistaken the accident of representation for its very essence. It is indeed a mere accident that in Great Britain the territorial divisions mark off rival interests also. But it is wrong to assume that Manchester, Leeds, Glassgow at Birmingham are represented in the British Parliament separately because they are different localities, rather than clearly marked off interests, it is as such that they are represented and not because the territorial limits as such are distinct. Look at the religious demarcation between the various countries included in the United Kingdom: were it not for the accident that Ireland is distinctly Catholic, Scotland Presbyterian, and that non-conformity has its habitat in Wales, whereas England has an established Church of its own, there would have resulted an awful confusion if representation had been based, as it now is, on territorial divisions. Imagine a devotee of the Church of England returned by the votes of a majority of its own way of thinking, but resident in Wales, returning him to Parliament to propose the establishment of the Church of England in that principality. Imagine a follower of Knox returned by the Presbyterian majority from Ireland proposing that there should be no Popery in that distressful country. Can you not imagine the wrath of Mr. Lloyd George and Dr. Clifford, and Mr. Redmond and the Nationalists? And can you not imagine the humour of the situation when the M.Ps.

returned by the majority boasted, with a merry twinkle in their eye, that they spoke in the name and on behalf of a United Wales or a United Ireland, and denounced the Non-Conformists and the Catholics, who of course could not be returned to Parliament by the opposite party to raise a foolish cry?

I make a present of this glorious vision of unity to the Secretary of State. But to you in India, I can give no better instance of such confusion than the opinions of the Indian 'National' Congress. Because a Moulvi Liakat Hussain has said so, the Congress gives out in the name of all Musalmans that they are all against the Partition of Bengal, excepting that 'man of no moment', my friend the Hon. Nawab Bahadur of Dacca. Because Mr. Haider Raza has joined the Congress, all Musalmans are represented to be in full sympathy of every demand of Congress. By the way I hear this gentleman has joined the ranks of the extremists and has very logically ceased to be, in the opinion of the moderates, a true representative of Musalmans. Mr. Asquith complained of these 'mysterious divinations' which inform the House of Lords the century does not want measures passed by the huge majority of the House of Commons. But a colleague of Mr. Asquith recommends a system of election which would regularize such 'mysterious divinations', because unlike that 'Annexe of the Tory Party in the Commons' against which the Liberals are arming themselves, our House of Lords would be composed of members of our own community but mandatories of the majority of our political rivals. Lord Morley began by devising a system for the protection of Musalmans and ended by inventing a system of political ventriloguism. He has reserved a number of seats, though too few, 'in favour of members of our community. We are therefore apparently assured a hearing. But it will be only apparently that we would be heard. The lips and the tongue would be of Muslims, but, like oracles of ancient shrines, the voice that of the Brahmin. We complained that our co-religionists were not elected as members of Legislative Councils. That grievance would be now removed. For our own sword is being sharpened to cut our throat.

Lord Morley had not far to look find how dangerous it was to base representation on territorial division in countries in which religions or racial distinctions were greater and more significant than territorial demarcation. There are many countries

in Europe which could offer a warning or a guidance to so eminent a scholar of politics. France, Austria, Russia and Turkey could furnish enough of both. Take the last named only. Are not the interests of Christian and Jew, Muslim and Christian, Latin and Christianity and Orthodox Church, Patriarchate and Exarchate and Metroplitanate different and even conflicting in that country? And if they are conflicting, would territorial representation be adequate protection for an Israelite in an anti-Semite district in Austria or France, or an Armenian in a Kurdish locality in Turkey? Nay, why go so far? I would request His Lordship to cast his glance at Ireland itself. That Island is also part of the United Kingdom along with Scotland. But between the union of Scotland and the union of Ireland how strange an analogy and how strange a contrast! Is not Ulster responsible for much of this contrast which has made a full union of Ireland with England impossible? But what is Ulster in its importance to the greater Ulster that exists in India, the Ulster of Islam? And what protection does Lord Morley make for our Ulster? Only this that the representatives for Ulster must be nominees of the rest of the Ireland: dummies to represent men who think and suggest and feel, players that must not utter a word on the stage, puppets to dance as the wirepuller manipulates them. We wish to congratulate his Lordship on his political workmanship. We cannot congratulate him on his encouragement of political jugglery.

The sanctimonious apostles of unity contend that the interests of Mohammedans do not differ from those of Hindus; and if the wish were father to the thought, I would say Amen. But let us not be ruined by political ambiguities. When they talk of interests, let us ask of what interests they talk. The ultimate interests of Hindus and Mohammedans are certainly the same. They were the same when Sivaji revolted against Aurangzeb or when the situation described in Anand Math existed. The interests, in that sense, of the whole of humanity are the same. The ultimate interests of all men are indentical. But because human beings have not all risen yet to such a lofty conception of their essential unity, because we have not reached the millenium in which the strong only protect the weak, the thief only protects the property of the rich, white bureaucrat only lives for the good of sable Congressmen, and Mr. Tilak and Mr. Gokhale

only work for the good of us all, that the expensive machinery of administration, the police, the magistracy, judges and juries, and specially elected non-official members of Legislative Councils have to be tolerated. The position of different societies in the scale of political evolution is judged according to the degree to which each has eliminated the personal equation from the principles that guide it in its system of government. It is therefore a retrograde step in our political evolution to leave us at the mercy of an angelic majority that invariably thinks of the unity of India's ultimate interest. It is not the ultimate interests that have caused all the horrible crimes of short-sighted humanity, all the bloody wars of ancient and modern times, and all the bitterness that rankles even to-day in human breasts. The analogy of litigation is indeed such a good one that we must ask ourselves whether by substituting the nominees of the majority for the nominees of Government, Lord Morley is not depriving the judge of the right to nominate an advocate for an absent litigant in order to give the same right to the other party to the suit. Even in the best regulated families, differences sometimes lead to litigation. Would anyone permit one brother to say to the other, when they have counter claims against each other, "Let me choose your advocate for you", or would the judge be justified in saying to one of them, "Why have an advocate? You have friends in me and the jury?"

A good deal of nonsense has been talked and written about 'special treatment' and 'free competition'. The Musalmans ask for no special treatment, and they are fighting against political monopolists. The Indian Daily News said of denominational representation that "It is certainly an open question whether the bracing air of competition would not be a healthier atmosphere for the now rapidly awakening Mohammedan community than the hot-house culture that the Government seems so anxious to introduce." But who has ever heard of 'free competition' between constituencies for representation? Would Ulster be satisfied with the doctrine of free competition if the members for Ulster were to be elected by free competition with the majority of Catholic Ireland? Would England be satisfied with an arbitration court at The Hague in which her representatives were chosen by means of free competition by the larger populations of other European countries? The membership of the

Legislative Council is not a lucrative or honourable appointment any more than the membership of an arbitration court, to be competed for byc ontending parties. It is the delegation of its deputy by each of several separate interests to a comprehensive body charged with the difficult task of legislation for all of them according to their united wishes, rather than the reward of competing interests in a struggle for existence. The numerically weak cannot and must not be allowed to go to the wall. This is so plain that I cannot believe an astute politician like Lord Morley could have been misled by any talk of free competition. His deception is due to more persuasive, because more plausible, Pharisees. "Denominational representation would accentuate religious differences", that is the argument of apostles of unity. A pretty phrase this, 'accentuate religious differences.' But has it been ascertained whether this measure will be the cause or is already the consequence of religious differences? Are they not unfortunately but too patent? Are they not sufficiently accentuated? Have we not reached the bottom of these wretched squabbles? I am second to no Pharisee in detesting these pitiful struggles of communities that are due to no higher consideration than the lives of goats and cows, or the use of an Arabic or Sanskrit word. But howsoever we may detest them, we cannot be blind to their existence. Let it be admitted for argument's sake that the fault lies wholly with the fanatics of Islam, with their jezzia and jehad. Let it be believed that the tolerant Hindus have tolerated something more than the bare physical existence of nearly as many millions of men of their own faith as the Musalman fanatics. Let it be believed that, instead of every third Hindu being untouchable by the other two Hindus, including Mr. Tilak, the Mang and the Mahar, the Dhed and the Chamar, the Bhangi and the Pariah are men within the meaning of the terms, 'the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man'. Let it be believed that these castes euphemistically called 'the depressed classes'—depression far worse than any foreign oppression—are allowed the elementary rights of existence. Even then the fanaticism of Musalmans and the spirit of revenge which it gives rise to are facts that cannot be ignored. Is the Government to ignore such a fact in giving Indians territorial franchise without any provision for the protection of the minority? We all desire to see the end of religious

and sectional squabbles. But we must build on the foundation of facts rather than of pious wishes. Statesmanship consists in building the ideal fabric on the foundation of reality. It is foolish to ignore what is in the desire to achieve what ought to be. The ostrich may be an excellent idealist, but he is a poor politician. Let us condemn every measure of Government that tends to turn solidarity into disintegration. But let us recognize the practical good sense also that does not ignore the universally acknowledged disintegration that is of our own creation.

It is no use warning the guileless Mohammedan fish that rushes at the bait offered by the Government, if the Hindu fish has no better record of its own discrimination or contentment. The greater political blunder of an ex-Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces, who is now denouncing political blunders of others has not been forgotten. Did not the apostles of unity swallow a tasty bait, and begin thereafter the boycott of every word of Arabic or Persian origin in that glorious language, Urdu, the camp language of their darling Akbar and his successors, throwing into the dust-heap the shining coins of Arab and Ajam mints which enriched our common treasury. That was by no means a conspicuous example of catholicity and tolerance. I wish my Hindu friends would only learn the disillusioning but useful fact that there is no short cut to patriotism or unity.

Thou'lt come, knit men, join nation unto nation, But not for us who watch to-day and burn. Thou'lt come, but after what long years of trial, Weary watching, patient longing, dull denial.

I know that there is current in India a view of unity which is the dream of all spiritualists. It looks forward to unity in Nirvana, the annihilation of the finite and its incorporation with the infinite. It is possible that in a confused application of this view to more mundane affairs our friends desire our annihilation and the Nirvana of the minority in the majority. But even this short cut has been tried before, and those who walked along this path discovered, though too late, that it led only to their destruction. The dream of unity led Spain to banish all Moriscoes from its territories after the fall of Granada. The same glorious visions caused the Massacre of St. Bartholomew

and the expulsion of Huguenots from France. But did Spain succeed or fail? Was it not the other day that Catholic Clergymen were roughly handled in the selfsame Paris, and inventories taken of their churches by free-thinking Parisians? The unity that is sought through the annihilation of minorities reacts upon itself. An even-handed justice commends the ingredients of poisoned chalice to our own lips. At any rate the Musalman cannot be expected to take the poisoned cup and drink it to the dregs without a murmur as a martyr to the Unity of India. He has hitherto been credited with a genius for forcing the cup of martyrdom on others. No Nirvana can attract him; and those who have succeeded in inducing some guileless men to commit political hara-kiri must remember that the Musalmans in general are rather tenacious in their longing to live.

One word more and I have done. When we show distrust of the system of the before-mentioned representation, we do not say that every Hindu leader who talks of unity and wishes to bring it about by mixed electoral colleges is insincere and wishes only to lure us to our destruction. It is not that. No, these leaders come and go, but the bad system goes on for ever. Lord Morley could not be unfamiliar with our line of reasoning, for the Liberals' Cabinet has just now announced a similar line of policy with reference to Germany and the dreadnaughts. England and its ministers do not distrust Germany. But Germany or no Germany, their supremacy on the high seas is essential to their national existence, and cannot be risked on the words, no matter how sincere, of an Emperor or a Chancellor of the Fatherland. Circumstances may change, other Emperors and Chancellors may be in power, and the tempting weakness of England may lead them to forget all the sincere pledges of to-day. An unprotected minority cannot rely on the sole asset of the sincerity of the majority's present leaders. We cannot lay down two keels to every one of the Hindus. But let our dreadnaughts, even one to their two, be our own and not theirs in all but the flag they fly. Otherwise, circumstances may and would change, and our unprotected condition would tempt the leaders of rival communities, who could not then be expected to remember the sincere pledges of long ago. The question is one of our life and death. We cannot jeopardize our existence on promises, sincere or otherwise, and must see this thing to the end.

Sheikh Abdul Qadir said that they were not in duty bound to thank Lord Morley. The principle of his scheme conflicted with those on which they had so far been basing Muslim policy since the days of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. Moreover, the proposal to nominate electors was absolutely unprecedented, and did not stand the test of reason. If the Secretary of State recognized the principle of the nomination of electors, what prevented him from recognizing the justice and expediency of the same principle in the nomination of members? He emphatically supported the last two resolutions, but agreed to the first only in deference to the wishes from the Chair.

Mr. Yakub Hasan of Madras remarked that the Musalmans of the Madras Presidency had already passed a resolution conveying the sense of the three resolutions now proposed.

Khwaja Gul Mohammad, agreed with Sheikh Abdul Qadir's views, while Khwaja Ahmad Shah was in favour of passing the last two resolutions, but suspending the expression of thanks to Lord Morley till the time when the scheme was modified in accordance with Mohammedan wishes. On Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur pointing out that there would be nothing improper in conveying thanks for what was acceptable to them, and pressing their views on Government on points where the Musalmans felt agreed, Khwaja Ahmad Shah did not formally move any amendment.

Nawab Khwaja Sir Salimullah Khan Bahadur, K.C.S.O., Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, said:

We have all heard the speech of the President on the Despatch dealing with the Reform Scheme. The ability with which he has handled the subject can leave no doubt in our mind that he has given our community the benefit of the remarkable talents he possesses for dealing with political questions that affect the interest of our community. The view that he takes of the Despatch is one that may possibly strongly appeal to you. His power of exposition and criticism, I have the highest regard for. In fact I have a greater regard for it, I claim, than any one of you have; yet I venture to submit to you that I have so far held views on the question of the protection of the minorities different from those pronounced by the learned President. I read the Despatch of Lord Morley in this connection as giving us, the

Mohammedans, pure and separate denominational representation, to use the Presidents language, from start to finish. It was on the strength of this opinion that I have of the Despatch that I gladly went with the All-India Loyal Representative Deputation to His Excellency the Viceroy to thank him and the Secretary of State for their liberal concessions. I was then, and am still, under the impression that justice has been administered to the Hindus and Mohammedans alike, and that the 25 Mohammedans out of the 100 in the college, the electoral college, will elect the Mohammedan representatives separately from the remaining 75 Hindus. I feel certain that when you approach their Lordships with the interpretation, as given by the President, of the Despatch on this point, you will find that the interpretation given by me is correct. Yet inasmuch as I have strong faith in the good sense of our President and the present assembly, I, in spite of my own convictions, think that a fair amount of doubt has been raised to justify our supporting the President in putting the resolutions before us from the Chair, and I therefore, to maintain the solidarity of our attitude in relation to political, action, freely join you in the support.

The resolutions were carried by acclamation.

THIRD SITTING

The third sitting opened at 11 a.m. on December 31 and closed at 2-30 p.m. Syed Ali Imam was in the Chair and members and visitors were present as on the previous day.

In a spirited speech, full of facts and figures, Mian Mohammad Shafi moved the following resolutions:

DENOMINATIONAL REPRESENTATION

The All-India Muslim League is of opinion that the principle of purely denominational representation should be extended to all municipal and district boards throughout India, a principle which has already worked with success in a large number of municipalities in the Punjab.

The resolution was seconded by Khwaja Gul Mohammad. Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhary, supporting the resolution, said:

The resolution which has been so ably moved and seconded just now has my heartiest support and approval. The municipal and district boards are but initial rungs in the ladder of selfgovernment and if denominational representation is extended to these we shall have gained a very important step towards adequate representation in the Legislative Chamber of the Empire. A community which has a glorious past and which forms a fourth or fifth of the entire population should have adequate representation on the municipal and district boards which are the embodiments of local self-government. If the denominational principles applied to the municipal boards in the Punjab has worked there successfully, there is no reason why the principle should not be applied to both municipal and district boards uniformly throughout the Indian Empire. These boards have to deal with important matters concerning the health, educational needs and, at times, the religious concerns of the locality, and it is a matter greatly to be deplored that the Mohammedan taxpayers are not adequately represented. To overcome such defects, Government ought to declare the number of Mohammedan members on these boards in proportion to their numerical strength and political importance, and they should be returned by the Mohammedan electors residing in any particular municipality or within the limits of a district board. In some municipal areas, the Mohammedans may not stand a good comparison to the other classes in point of numbers and taxes, but the political importance of the community should be taken into consideration in the declaration of the numbers. Need I say, gentlemen, that the resolution has the hearty support of all of us assembled here.

The resolution was also supported by Mr. Mohammad Ali, Mr. Mazharul Haque and Mr. Yakub Hasan.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

APPOINTMENTS TO THE EXECUTIVE COUNCILS

Sheikh Abdul Qadir proposed:

In view of the appointment of Indian members to the Executive Council of the Governor-General and the Governors of Bombay and Madras, the All-India Muslim League hopes that the claims of the Indian Mohammedans will be duly considered.

The motion was supported by Moulvi Mahbub Alam, Raja Naushad Ali Khan, Sahebzada Aftab Ahmad Khan and Nawab Naseer Hasan Khan Khyal. It was passed unanimously.

MEMORIAL ON REFORM SCHEME

The All-India Muslim League considers it necessary that a committee should be appointed with full powers to draft and finally adopt an address embodying the resolutions relating to the Reform Scheme of the Secretary of State, unanimously passed by the League, and to make all necessary arrangements for presenting it to H.E. the Viceroy, with His Excellency's permission, at an early date through a Deputation of such members of the League as are able to wait upon His Excellency, and that the President of this session be the chairman of the said committee, which should hold its sitting at a place convenient to the chairman, the quorum consisting of four members, and that the following members of the League should form the said committee: Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk Bahadur; the Hon'ble Nawab Bahadur of Dacca; the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhry; Sahebzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, Bar-at-Law; Mr. Fazale Hasan, Bar-at-Law; Khan Bahadur Mian Mohammad Shafi, Bar-at-Law; Sheikh Abdul Aziz, Editor, Observer; Nawab Naseer Hasan Khan Khyal; Mr. Yakub Hasan; Mr. Mazharul Haque, Bar-at-Law (Secretary of the Committee); Moulvi Rafiud-din Ahmad, Bar-at-Law; Khan Bahadur Sarfraz Hasan Khan; Mr. Mohammad Ali, B.A. (Oxon.); Mr. Nabiullah, Barat-Law; Mr. Abdus Salam Rafigi; Khan Bahadur Khwaja Yusuf Shah; Khan Bahadur Sheikh Ghulam Sadiq, Sheikh Abdul Qadir, Bar-at-Law; Mr. Abdul Aziz, Bar-at-Law; Raja Naushad Ali Khan; Haji Mohammad Musa Khan, Offg. Hony. Secretary, All-India Muslim League; and Syed Ali Imam, Bar-at-Law (Chairman). And further that this League also deems it necessary to empower the said Committee to send some representatives of the League to wait upon the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India and bring to His Lordship's notice the just and legitimate claims of the Mohammedans of India.

In moving the above resolution, Raja Naushad Ali Khan said:

It is not necessary for me to say much in moving this resolution. You know to what extent the interests of Musalmans have suffered by their silence and also to what extent rival interests have triumphed because the political missionaries of our neighbours have succeeded in quarters where, as our President has so justily said, our voice has only to reach to be appreciated. This League has already unanimously and heartily passed three resolutions moved from the Chair on the subject of the Reform Scheme. I am one of the representatives from the Province of Oudh, and though I gave a silent vote in favour of the resolutions yesterday, I take this opportunity of saying that Oudh heartily supports them. The conclusions at which we unanimously arrived are, therefore, clear. We have only to add to them weighty arguments to support them and draw up a memorial in which we should plead our just and righteous cause. We should then arrange to obtain His Excellency the Viceroy's permission to wait upon His Excellency and lay before him our just grievances. But as the final authority is the Secretary of State's, we should also arrange to send some representatives to England to acquaint his Lordship and the Cabinet with the true state of our community and the well-justified apprehensions it has for its future, if the interests of the minorities are not protected better than under the system outlined in paragraph 12 of the Secretary of State's Despatch. I am sure there can be no two opinions about the question, and I trust you will pass the resolution unanimously. A word or two may be said about the machinery designed for the work before us. I think our President, Mr. Ali Imam, should be requested to draw up this memorial, as he is in every way the most proper person to do it, for not only have we had proofs of his great political ability in the two speeches of yesterday and the resolutions passed by us, but also because, as our President of this session, he moved those important resolutions.

We leave the selection of the place of meeting to him, as he is a busy man and we must seek his convenience; and though after having settled the conclusions at which we have unanimously arrived yesterday, we could very well leave the whole work of the memorial to him, it is better to appoint a committee, with representatives of the various provinces. The quorum for meetings is such that the work of the committee can go on

without hitch and without delay, for delay at this hour is dangerous. Our deputation should consist of every member of the League who could wait upon the Viceroy in Calcutta, unless circumstances make it necessary to curtail the number of its members. This is necessary because we should throw the door open to all members of this representative League. The committee proposed by me should be our plenipotentiaries, for it will be impossible to refer to the whole League for the settlement of every little point. The committee's representative character will, I trust, make it acceptable to all. Gentlemen, I ask for unanimous support of this resolution.

The resolution had the hearty support of Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur, Sheikh Ghulam Sadiq, Sheikh Abdul Aziz and other members; and was adopted unanimously.

REPRESENTATION IN MUNICIPALITIES

The All-India Muslim League, after very carefully considering the prayers contained in the address of the Deputation of the Deccan Provincial Muslim League that waited upon His Excellency the Governor of Bombay in September 1908, and His Excellency's reply to the same, regrets that the just and reasonable requests of the Mohammedans of the Bombay Presidency have not met with that considerate reception on the part of the Bombay Government which they deserved. This League cannot believe that the real representation of the Mohammedans in the municipalities can adequately be secured by rectifying, by the dubious means of Government nominations, the inevitable deficiencies of electors on a non-denominational basis, which has been amply proved by the experience of such elections in that Presidency during quarter of a century; and this League is strongly of opinion that Government nominations cannot but create in the Mohammedan community an indifference towards civil affairs which is sure to affect their interests prejudicially, that they will to a large extent defeat the purpose of local selfgovernment which was primarily intended to be an instrument of political popular education (sic). Nor in view of the very serious difficulties pointed out in the Government of India's Despatch of October, 1908, to the Secretary of State with reference

to that plan, can this League accept as proper the suggestion of the Bombay Government to give favourable consideration to selections made by voluntary associations of Mohammedans. This League also holds that, in view of the great need of encouraging the educational efforts of Mohammedans and the importance of proper instruction in Urdu—which in addition to being the Lingua Franca of the Indian Empire, is without a doubt the Vernacular of the Mohammedans of Bombay Presidency—the request of the Deccan Muslim League in favour of the establishment of an Urdu Training College and the appointment of qualified inspecting officers for Urdu schools merits a more favourable reconsideration. This League further believes that His Excellency the Governor's reply to the request of the Deccan Muslim League recommending that a due proportion of Mohammedans shall always find a place in the public service has been due to a serious misconception as regards the true nature of the said request; and this League, while not in the least desiring that undue favour should be shown to Mohammedans, or that the standard of qualification for public service should be lowered in their favour to the prejudice of the efficiency of administration, very emphatically holds that it is essential for the efficiency of administration, as well as for the proper adjustment of the political balance, that so long as qualified Mohammedans are available for the public service, they should be employed to the exclusion of members of other communities till their due proportion, according to their importance and population, is secured.

The motion called forth a dignified speech from the mover, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur, who was strongly backed up by other members of the League, and was adopted.

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

JUDICIAL COMMITTEE

Proposed by Mr. Mazharul Haque and seconded by Mr. Mohammad Umar:

That in view of the uncertainty in the administration of the Hindu and the Mohammedan Law, in consequence of which

grave dissatisfaction is often caused among the people, the Right Hon. the Secretary of State be moved, through the Government of India, to appoint a Musalman and a Hindu as members on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

PUBLIC SERVICES

Proposed by Mian Mohammad Shafi and seconded by Sheikh Abdul Qadir:

In view of the necessity and importance, under the existing circumstances of India, of each community being duly represented in the administration, the All-India Muslim League considers the number of Mohammedans employed in the various branches of the public service as absolutely inadequate, and strongly urges the Government to give the Mohammedan community that share in the public service to which it is entitled by reason of its importance and numerical strength.

Mr. Mohammad Yakub, supporting the resolution, said:

The number of Mohammedans in the judicial service of the Province of Agra is very inadequate; and unless prompt and effective measures are taken to make up the deficiency, the Mohammedans will, in the course of a few years, nearly disappear from the higher grade of this most important branch of Government service. In the last quarter of the year 1908, out of 21 sub-judges, there were only four Mohammedans, of whom two are on the eve of retirement and will, according to the gradation given in the civil list, be succeeded by Hindus; and the whole Province of Agra, one of the most advanced Mohammedan provinces in India, has only two Musalman sub-judges. In the grade of munsif, the situation is far from being satisfactory, and out of a total number of 69, there are only 12 Mohammedans.

Although we can never admit that our share in the Government service or anywhere else should only be in proportion to our numerical strength, and in any kind of representation, direct or indirect, we justly claim a share equal to our Hindu brethren, owing to our special importance and the position which we occupied in India a little more than a hundred years ago, still even according to the view taken by Sir Antony (now Lord)

Macdonell, the most unsympathetic English Governor that the Mohammedans of India ever had, out of every five there ought to be two Mohammedans in the judicial line.

MUSLIM ENDOWMENTS

Proposed by Mr. Mohammad Ali and seconded by Sheikh Abdul Aziz:

The Government be asked to appoint a commission to enquire into the number, general purposes and manner of administration of Musalman endowments designed merely for public benefit.

LAW OF FAMILY WAKF

Proposed by Mr. Nabiullah, and seconded by Moulvi Habibur Rahman Khan:

In view of the disintegration of Musalman families consequent on the misinterpretation of the Musalman Law of Family Wakf, and the disastrous effects resulting therefrom to the well-being of the community, it is necessary for the Legislature to enact some measure to validate the Musalman Law of Wakf in favour of the endower's family and descendants with any safeguard that may be considered expedient against the perpetration of fraud.

UNLAWFUL ACTIVITIES

Proposed by Mian Mohammad Shafi and seconded by Raja Naushad Ali Khan:

In view of the existing conditions in some parts of the country, the All-India Muslim League fully recognizes the urgent necessity, on the part of Government, of taking strong action to punish, adequately and without delay, the dastardly crimes of the kind which have recently been committed, and to deal effectively with anarchism and other seditious associations which are the cause of these crimes; and expresses its hearty approval of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act recently passed by the Imperial Legislature.

ANTI-ASIATIC LEGISLATION

Proposed by Mr. Nabiullah and supported by Moulvi Mahboob Alam:

The All-India Muslim League deplores the spirit of recent anti-Asiatic legislation in the British colonies of South Africa, especially in the Transvaal, which has placed a great strain on the loyalty of our countrymen, both here and in such colonies, and considers it as one of its bounden duties to the British Government, as well as to its African colonies concerned, to inform it of the likely mischievous consequences of colonial legislation, based on racial distinction, humiliating to H M. the King Emperor's Indian subjects; and this League has grave apprehensions that unless the good sense of the colonies helps them to devise means to end the present crisis in such colonies by some permanent compromise, and failing that, unless the Imperial Government successfully asserts its undoubted supremacy in matters of Imperial importance to obliterate racial distinctions in political life within the Empire, the reforms foreshadowed in the Despatch of the Secretary of State for India may fail to exercise that wholesome influence on the present situation in India which they are intended to exercise.

PARTITION OF BENGAL

In view of the recent utterances of Dr. Rashbehari Ghose and the action of the Madras Congress in passing a resolution against the Partition of Bengal, the League felt that it was necessary to inform the Government and the public of the Mohammedan attitude in the matter, and unanimously adopted a strongly worded resolution in favour of the Partition. A very large number of the members of the League, hailing from all parts of the country, supported the resolution, which was moved by Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhry. He said:

The advocates of withdrawal of Partition have repeatedly urged that the unrest and excitement would subside with the withdrawal. I confess I have not for myself been able to

1. The text of the resolution is not given in the report of Proceedings.

comprehend such a position, so persistently and strenuously advanced. Was the Partition synchronous with the unrest? I ask you, gentlemen, to say aye or nay. I am sure that the interrogation would yield a unanimous nay. For even the most careless critics of events cannot deny that the unrest is of no recent growth, and that its origin dates back to a time far antecedent to the Partition of Bengal. Again, is it not natural to ask that if the root cause of the unrest and anarchism is the Partition of Bengal, why should the unrest and anarchism have spread over all of India? It is therefore absolutely absurd to assert that the modification of the Partition would be followed by the subsidence of the anarchical spirit. The anarchical spirit has nothing to do with the Partition. The exposures in the law courts of the bomb conspiracies, of the train wrecking attempts of the secret societies for the destruction of British rule, of the doings of the 'national' dacoits, would go to show that the spirit of turbulance and terrorism is not a recent product, but has its roots in deep-seated plans and plots for the overthrow of the Government. Do the palliators of the unrest really know their constituents? Do they then really mean to tell us that the cry for Swaraj is a meaningless and absurd cry and would stop the moment the crime of Partition is at oned for by its withdrawal? People who have lived long enough in India would not, I am sure, submit to this sort of tomfoolery.

Gentlemen, I can say one thing in the full confidence and courage of conviction: if the Partition was a blunder, a greater and graver blunder would be to withdraw or modify it. Indeed, it would be the most egregious blunder in the history of British India. I am not sure whether any sane administration would go to that extent, for while it would be a practical surrender of Pax Britannica into the hands of the vociferous agitators, it would also mean to the larger and more important population in Eastern Bengal, the Musalmans, that the Government seeks not the happiness of the greatest number—the established, admitted and accepted principle of English political ethics—but is prone to climb down to the hectoring and terrorizing bodies of agitators. But what are the arguments against the partition? Up to now the stock argument with the anti-partitionists has been the mere sentimental one that it divides the Bengali Hindu race. Could not the Bengali Musalmans say the same thing? Could not the Musalmans, too, cry that the partition has divided the Bengali Musalmans into two different provincial areas? Could not the Punjabi Musalmans, in like manner, say that the creation of the Frontier Province divides them into two different political divisions? Could not, I ask, the Mohammedans of upper India similarly complain that the Punjab and the United Provinces break up a no less homogeneous people into two different political and administrative areas?

Could not Musalmans have raised the standard of revolt when Delhi, Karnal and Gurgaon districts were transferred to the Punjab Province? Could not similarly the Biharis threaten disturbance because they have been included in the Bengal administration? Assam was separated in 1874 from Bengal and made into a separate Province. Could it not raise the same cry when, by the redistribution of 1905, it had to revert to the old order of being mixed up with Bengal? I must say that the enunciation of such a doctrine is the enunciation of a dangerous principle in the governance of a country like India.

The duplication of the administrative machinery has not only raised the standard of efficiency in the government of the reconstituted province, but has afforded a great security of life and prosperity to the people. What was the state of affairs in the eastern part of the province, especially in the tracts watered by the Brahamputra, the Pudda and the Megna. They were so detached and segregated from the centre of administrative influence that it was impossible, under the old system, to have hoped for any improvement, social, political, educational or commercial, before many long years to come.

The Partition has given a new life to the people in the Eastern Province. They are feeling a refreshing sense and a relief from the thraldom of...¹ Calcutta. They find their rights more quickly recognized and their existence and importance more adequately appreciated than they could as a mere appendage, as heretofore, of Western Bengal. They find that if...¹ some 100 deputy magistrates and a like number of sub-dupties, munsiffs and sub-registrars have had to be appointed, these appointments went to the children of the soil, Hindus and Mohammedans. In

^{1.} These clauses have been omitted as, doubtless owing to some editorial error in the source document, they do not make sense.

fact, the people feel that in neglected Eastern Bengal, the people have got what Ireland has so strenuously been fighting for, I mean home-rule and not rule from Calcutta.

I hope it would not be out of place if I attempted to meet the criticism of our Bengali Hindu friends on what they regard as the detriment to nationalism as they apprehend it by Partition (sic). One is really very curious to hear from them the cry of unity and nationalism in danger. What is, pray, the real significance and import of this nationalism? Does it mean a cementing together of the Bengali Hindus within themselves and outside with all other races? Does the euphonious phrase 'Indian Nation' mean only and restrictedly the Hindus of the two Bengals? Is not the mixing up and fusion of all the various races a consumation to be striven after and desired? When, then, I ask my Hindu friends, should there be the cry of the break up, the split up, the division and so forth of the Bengali Nation? Is it to be assumed and adopted (sic) that the development of an Indian nationality should be synonimous with the development of the Bengali Hindu, apart from and outside all other races and communities? An eventual evolution of an Indian nationality logically means the fusion of all races ultimately into a homogeneous whole. The cry of nationalism in danger cannot therefore come with good grace from our Bengali Hindu friends, when a portion of them are asked to cast their lot with the Assamese, another fraction asked to join the hands of fellowship with the Biharis, or another group required to mingle with the Orias. So far, therefore, the cry of nationalism in danger is a false and unfounded cry; for what is really in danger is not nationalism, but spirit of exclucivism and privilege of monopoly.

A representative sub-committee was appointed to revise the rules of the League. Some donations to the All-India Muslim League Fund were announced: a donation of Rs. 1,500 from H.H. Sir Sultan Mohammad Shah Aga Khan, G.C.I.E., the permanent President of the All-India Muslim League; one of Rs. 500 from Raja Naushad Ali Khan, and another of Rs. 500 from Mr. Mazharul Haque.

The President addressed a few words to the audience, thanking them for the trouble taken and expressing satisfaction at the work that had been done. Khwaja Yusuf Shah, the President

of the Reception Committee and Mr. Mohammad Umar, the Honorary Secretary of this Committee, were specially complimented for their untiring zeal and for the good arrangements they made for the Session of the League at Amritsar. The proceedings concluded with a vote of thanks to the Chair, applause for the President, and three cheers for His Imperial Majesty the King Emperor.¹

^{1.} Report of Haji Mohammad Musa Khan; Pamphlet Published by All-India Muslim League, Aligarh, May 1, 1909, pp. 1-38.

Chapter 10

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

THIRD SESSION

Delhi, January 29-30, 1910

FIRST SITTING

The All-India Muslim League, after holding private conferences on January 27 and 28, 1910, opened its first sitting with great enthusiasm on January 29, 1910, at the Sangam Theatre, in the imperial city of Delhi. The meeting commenced with the speech of Hazikulmulk Hakim Mohammad Ajmal Khan, President of the Reception Committee, welcoming the delegates. Following is the text of his welcome address.

WELCOME ADDRESS BY HAKIM AJMAL KHAN

In the name and on behalf of the Reception Committee of the All-India Muslim League, I beg to accord a hearty and warm welcome to you all, our esteemed guests, who have come here from various parts of the country to join in our deliberations regarding thy condition of the Indian Musalmans and to take part in the proceedings of the Delhi Session of the Muslim League—a session which, by recognizing the existence of the League separately from the Mohammedan Educational Conference, marks an important advance in the awakening political consciousness of the Muslim community. This Session of the League, therefore, possesses a weight which is all its own and is practically the first Muslim gathering with a purely political object, at which are met the representatives of the community

from all parts of India to chalk out a safe and straight path for the desired goal.

Important and distinguished as the present assembly is, no better place could have been selected for it than Delhi, Imperial Delhi, the mention of whose name carries the mind back to a glorious past, whose fascinating life-story has ever captivated the imagination of students of history and whose uniquely position led British Viceroys to hold the two memorable *Durbars* of modern days on its historic soil. And it was in the fitness of things that a body which took its birth in the city of Jahangir (Jahangirabad or Dacca) should have completed the stage of its infancy in the city of Shahjahan (Shahjahanabad or Delhi). We are thankful to the organizers of the League for their accepting our invitation and are doubly thankful to you, gentlemen, for the encouraging and enthusiastic response you have made to our humble call.

The period that has elapsed since the last annual meeting of the League held at Amritsar has been crowded with notable events. Indeed, the country is still passing through times at once stirring and epoch-marking. The introduction of the Reform Scheme opens a fresh chapter in the history of British rule in Hindustan, and we are now standing on the threshold of a new era in the Indian polity. Great and invaluable concessions have been granted to the people, and British statesmanship, ever characterized by generosity and beneficence, is exerting itself to lead the peoples of this Eastern land, step by step, along the path of political progress on Western lines. Real and effective participation of the representatives of the people in the actual work of daily administration is being ensured, and the highest executive and deliberative assemblies of the Empire have been thrown open to the sons of the soil. The Hon'ble Mr. Sinha's nomination to the Viceroy's Executive Council and the Right Hon'ble Syed Ameer Ali's elevation to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council stand as conspicuous landmarks in last year's history of the British Empire. I may take this opportunity of congratulating my fellow-countrymen on the appointments, and of giving utterance to the satisfaction with which both events have been hailed in India; though prolonged delay in the nomination of a Musalman successor to Nawab Imadul-Mulk on the India Council is naturally causing the Mohammedans consider-

able anxiety. Confident though they are that in future appointments the Secretary of State will not ignore the principle which guided his first selections of Indians for the India Council, the principle of having a Musalman also on the Council to represent the Muslim point of view along with that of the non-Muslim community—confident though they are of this, the present suspense is a source of widespread concern.

In spite, however, of the bestowal of new privileges on the people, the difficulties of government have not altogether disappeared and the atmosphere continues to be surcharged with grave anxiety. The despicable crime of Sir Curzon Wyllie's murder, the more recent assassination of Mr. Jackson, the vile attempt on the Viceroy at Ahmedabad, the nearer-home bomb discovery at Ambala, and the latest atrocity of Mr. Shamsul Alam's murder within the precincts of the Calcutta High Court are a few dark deeds out of a number which, though planned by anarchical propaganda, undoubtedly owe their inspiration to the pestilential teachings of the sedition mongers. Unfortunately for the peace of the country, the forces of disorder and disruption are still at work and the administration has had to strengthen its position, by adopting repressive measures. If, on the one hand, we deplore a resort to strong steps, we cannot, on the other, shut our eyes to the paramount duty of the State to uphold law and preserve order, which is the first essential of all progress. When the spirit of sedition and lawlessness is abroad, when the cult of the bomb is preached and practised, when assassinations have been attempted and committed, and when wildly suicidal schemes of Swaraj are hatched, is it wise or even possible for any government that cares for its own safety and of its subject-races to remain an unconcerned spectator of the game of violence sought to be played by the anarchist and the revolutionist? The responsibility for the enforcement of repressive measures must therefore rest with those whose insanity has forced their adoption on the State, and it should be the imperative duty of peaceful citizens to co-operate with the officers of Government is putting out the fire of sedition and anarchy.

Just as we have our duties towards the rulers, so have we other and no less binding duties towards our neighbours. It is obligatory on us not to injure the susceptibilities of peaceful neighbour communities, nor should we dislike a whole communities.

nity for the unfriendliness of a few of its members. As imprudent individuals have striven to embitter Hindu-Muslim relations and as attempts are made to shove the blame for this on the Musalmans, it will not be out of place if I were to draw attention to some relevant facts and try to examine how far the charge is well-founded.

The first notable revolution in the political life of India, after the year 1857, began with the foundation of the Indian Association at Calcutta in 1876, which subsequently developed into the so-called Indian National Congress. The late Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, however, foresaw serious danger for his co-religionists in their joining the movement, and exhorted them to keep aloof from it. Mohammedans had lagged behind in the race for education and were also numerically much weaker than the Hindus. Moreover, some of the founders and workers of the Congress were not cordially disposed towards the Government. By hearkening to the advice of the Sage of Aligarh, the Muslims as a body left the Congress severely alone, with the consequence that, instead of frittering away their modicum of energy and placing their destinies in dubious hands, they devoted themselves whole-heartedly to their greatest need, the reclamation of the ground they had lost in the field of education. To achieve the last object, they laid the foundation of the Mohammedan Educational Conference in 1888. This was the first national effort of the Musalmans which, though innocent in itself, excited the resentment of their neighbours in a manner that was no less unreasonable than it was unexpected. But every one can now see for himself that if Mohammedans had then permitted themselves to be entangled in political squabbles, the consequences would have been disastrous to their best interests.

However, to argue from Sir Syed's attitude towards the Congress that desired the Indian Musalmans to avoid politics for all time to come is a mistake. He was himself helpful in founding a 'Defence Association', though his untimely death left the movement without a guiding hand. In the meantime, while the number of educated Mohammedans had increased, events were marching with great rapidity in India. A policy of indifference towards the political life of the country could no longer be justified, and the members of the Muslim Deputation which waited upon the Viceroy in 1906—itself the result of a general political

awakening among the Musalmans—resolved to start a political organization of the community, which before long assumed definite shape in the foundation of the Muslim League at Dacca. But this was the signal for vollies of attacks from the Congress camp on the Mohammedans and their national policy. Those, however, who take exception to the existence of bodies established for safeguarding communal interests, forget that in advancing the cause of one section of the population you advance, indirectly, the cause of the whole, and that a network of Hindu associations and sabhas is already striving for the promotion of sectional interests. So long as such sectional institutions, whether of the Hindus or of the Mohammedans, do not jeopardize the larger interests of the country or community, we should welcome them, instead of criticizing their activities. The fact is all the same evident that the differences which I have enumerated above, and a few other minor points of divergence, have gone far to create a feeling of estrangement between the Hindus and the Musalmans. It is to be confessed with regret that party papers have materially contributed towards keeping alive these differences, the Arya Samajic periodicals being unquestionably among the greatest offenders in this respect. The time, I am positive, has come when Hindu and Mohammedan gentlemen of light and leading should put their heads together, and by agreeing that each community may legitimately seek to protect and promote its special interests without encroaching on the lawful rights of the other, learn to tolerate one another's existence. I am sure I can speak for my co-religionists throughout the Indian continent in declaring emphatically that Mohammedans regard as their brethren all loyal and law-abiding Hindus, whose exertions to advance the welfare of India, if they do not aim to remove the protection of the Union Jack, they are prepared to support and supplement in a broadminded spirit of iudicious catholicism.

Reverting to the Reform Scheme and the definite recognition therein of the position of the Musalmans, as an integral but distinct part of the Indian population, I must give expression to our feelings of deep satisfaction at the Government having, in the main, carried out the pledges which had been held out to us, though our fate hung in balance and swayed between hope and fear for a considerable time. I have no doubt, gentlemen,

that you will give your closest attention to the question of Mohammedan representation on representative bodies like municipal and district boards, universities and Legislative Councils. With the passing of the Indian Councils Act, the potentialities of these institutions have increased enormously, and the question of our proper representation on them has thus assumed grave importance, while the adoption of the recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission will further enhance the value and status of all local bodies. In view, therefore, of the new state of things that has established itself in the country, and the changes that are yet in contemplation, there can be no two opinions as to the supreme importance of the question. We thankfully realize the benevolence of the rulers in what has been done for us as a community; but I cannot conceal from you the reality of the disappointment which has been felt in Muslim Punjab at the denial to us of the right of separate representation on the Provincial Council, in spite of the fact that the need for it was perhaps more insistent here than elsewhere. Though forming the majority of the population of the Punjab, the Musalmans find themselves, curiously enough, in the minority in every one of the five electorates on which the right of choosing representatives for the Council has been conferred—a disparity due, I believe, to some extent at least, to the exclusion of district boards from the electoral groups and, chiefly, to insufficient Muslim representation on municipal boards. It is the earnest prayer of the Muslim community in this part of the country that Government be pleased to bear this point in mind on the occasion of the next elections, and that steps be taken to remove an obvious anomaly.

Let me, in this connection, caution you against premature elation at our recent successes in the Punjab elections, successes which are purely accidental and due to various circumstances—the unusual phenomena of Mohammedan solidarity and Hindu differences being two of these. Similarly, it is necessary to raise the voice of protest against the impression prevalent in certain quarters that Mohammedans have secured excessive representation on the Imperial Council. The notion is due to the mistake of including in the list of Muslim representatives the names of those Mohammedans who have been sent up to the Council by mixed electorates as the joint representatives of all classes

and creeds. These are, of course, members of the Mohammedan community, but they are not and cannot be regarded as representing it solely. If, however, our Hindu fellow-countrymen resent this, they ought not, in all fairness to the Musalmans, blame the latter for the present results, which could be easily avoided by introducing completely separate communal representation on all representatives bodies from top to bottom, as primarily asked for the Musalmans.

To illustrate that thoughtful men among the non-Muslim races of India, too, which have not been carried away by the party cry of mixed electorates, are not opposed to separate elections, I may remind you of the well-known opinion pronounced on the subject by that stalwart Congressman, Sir Pherozshah Mehta, whose promised explanation for his recent abdication of the Congress Chair we are—I may observe by the way -still awaiting with great eagerness. Almost identical views were strongly expressed by the President of the last Punjab Hindu Conference. Another staunch Congressman, the Hon'ble Mr. Sinha, as President of the Bhagalpur Conference, said: "I am strongly in favour of provision being made for the separate representation of the Musalmans to an extent which will enable them to be adequately represented on the Legislative Councils, regard being had to their numerical proportion, their position in each province, and in the country at large."

I cannot leave this point without offering grateful thanks to those whose patriotic efforts, on the one hand, and also those whose sense of equity, on the other, have secured for us our share in the promulgated reforms. Towards Your Highness our hearts are too full of gratitude to enable us to give adequate expression to our feelings, but I know I am echoing the sentiments of every one in this hall, and of the great Mohammedan community outside this hall, when I affirm that the Muslims, who are proud to own you as one of them, are fully sensible of what your Highness has done for their cause and realize that but for your timely intervention they would have been hopelessly handicapped in the new race on which India is starting. Your Highness's voluminous correspondence with the central office at Aligarh, your liberal financial assistance to the League. your public speeches and your private interviews bear ample testimony to Your Highness's burning zeal for the cause of your

co-religionists. In the Right Hon'ble Syed Ameer Ali, Your Highness found an equally zealous and devoted co-worker, who brought his great talents, keen intelligence and untiring energy to bear on the consideration of the Mohammedan problem in India at the present juncture. Though absent in body, he is, we feel, present with us in spirit, and will shortly address us with words of characteristic wisdom and sagacity through a deputy. Howsoever fallen the Musalmans be, a voice from within whispers into my ears that so long as we have the priceless advantage of the leadership of a patriotic and self-sacrificing prince like Your Highness, and of the guidance of an enlightened pilot like the Right Hon'ble Syed Ameer Ali, we have no cause to lose heart, and that we shall be able to pull ourselves through our plight.

I should be guilty of an unpardonable dereliction of duty if I omitted to proclaim what I believe is at this moment uppermost in the minds of you all. We are deeply grateful to the two illustrious statesmen who are now at the helm of Indian affairs and to whose generous appreciation of the Muslim position in India we are indebted for the equitable recognition of our communal rights. In His Excellency Lord Minto we have truly found a benefactor, whose memory our future generations will bless. We are no less thankful to the Right Hon'ble Lord Morley, who has grasped the Indian situation with rare precision and whose attitude towards His Imperial Majesty the Emperor's Muslim subjects has throughout been characterized by justice and sympathy.

Gentlemen, having achieved some success, we cannot afford to go to sleep. Strenuous work has yet to be done, if we are fully to attain to the object of uplifting the nation from the low level to which it has sunk. The prospect before us is not free from anxiety, and unless we take time by the forelock and forge new weapons to fight the battle of life with new methods, our future will be even more gloomy than our present. Other races have stolen a march on us and are actively pushing on with rapid strides. The campaign of conversions to the Hindu faith, started with such vigour, threatens to create fresh difficulties for us. Our share in the public service of the land is yet absolutely inadequate. In education we are still very backward. We have only lately entered political life, and the League requires

to be strengthened and consolidated. At present there is little cohesion between the central organization and its provincial branches, and the number of district branches is also comparatively small. Though we have happily earned the goodwill of the rulers, relations between the Mohammedans and sister communities are capable of being improved. The condition of our fellow-countrymen in South Africa is woefully unsatisfactory. The law of Wakf-alal-Aulad, as interpreted and administered by British courts, is bringing about the ruin and disintegration of many old Muslim families. These and kindred topics will doubtless engage your attention, and I trust your united labours will result in the elaboration of our national policy and in working out its details on lines that will conduce to the stability of the British Government in India, the welfare of the Musalmans and the promotion of Hindu-Mohammedan cordiality. Loyalty to his rulers is ingrained in the Muslim's nature and is inculcated by his religion. The Ouran expressly lays down that the Musalman and the Christian are nearer each other than the followers of any other two faiths. We also realize that the presence of the British in India is the best guarantee for the preservation of peace and order in the country and for the equitable protection of Muslim interests. In steadfastly serving the cause of our own community, we ought never to embarrass the hands of Government. Intemperance of language should be as sedulously avoided by us as immoderation in aspirations. I feel assured that the task which our League has set itself to perform will be accomplished with the patience, sobriety and farsightedness that become a representative body of a responsible community.

With these words, gentlemen, I repeat the sincerest and warmest welcome to you on behalf of the Reception Committee and of the Muslim population of Delhi.

As soon as the speech of the President of the Reception Committee came to an end, Maulana Syed Ahmad, the Imam of the Juma Masjid of Delhi, recited a few verses from the Holy Quran in a tone at once impressive and thrilling. His Highness the Aga Khan then rose, amidst prolonged and thundering cheers, and delivered his inaugural address.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS BY THE AGA KHAN

Seven years ago I had the honour of presiding at the Mohammedan Educational Conference held in this Imperial city at the time of the historic Proclamation Durbar of His Majesty the King Emperor. During the interval many things have happened, and one of the most gratifying signs of the times is the partial awakening of the Musalmans of India. The recent march of events has been as rapid as it has been momentous; its course is indicated by the enactment in the Indian Empire of what Lord Morley called the 'signal transaction', with which benevolent and statesman like policy his Lordship's name will be permanently associated—and by the formation of our League. At first the idea of the formation of the League was actually poohpoohed in some quarters, while in others it did not receive the attention it merited. But as subsequent events have shown, it has more than justified its existence, and I am proud to say that I was one of the originators of the movement. The necessity for the immediate formation of a Muslim League impressed me on the occasion of my visit to Aligarh in 1906, and I communicated the idea to my late and most lamented friend, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, by whose death we have suffered a serious and irreparable loss. With characteristic foresight, he accepted my suggestion, worked for its attainment, and brought about the Deputation which, waiting on H.E. Lord Minto in 1906, was the starting point of the recognition of the principle that the important Muslim minority in this country should have its fair and legitimate share in the administration of the country. We must not, however, forget that a sympathetic Viceroy whose memory is dear to Hindu and Muslim alike—the Hon'ble Lord Ripon—had in the early eighties laid down the principle of communal representation. For the maintenance of our due share in the political life in this country, and for the removal of an oldstanding exclusion, which formed a bone of contention between the Hindus and Mohammedans, the separate electorate for Musalmans was deemed to be an absolute necessity. Now that we have secured it, I hope it will result in a permanent political sympathy and a genuine working entente cordiale between the members of the two great sister communities.

Let me make it clear that we have not received any undue

preference, as has been alleged in some quarters. In fact, we have not got all that we thought was promised or all that we had asked for; but in their final shape, the Reforms were publicly and gratefully acknowledged by us as a fair and reasonable compromise. Here, I must recognize the loyal support which your representatives in England, Syed Ameer Ali and myself, received from practically the whole of the Muslim community; and I must say that without this practically absolute unanimity, we should never have had the fair share of representation in the new Councils to which we are entitled. When the elements of constitutional government were being introduced into India, it was only natural and right and just that we should press for the reasonable recognition of the special interests and peculiar needs of a vast and important community like the Muslims. I am glad our just demand has been recognized. Now that the Reform Scheme has been finally settled and is actually in active operation, we must accept it as final in an appreciative spirit, worthy of our traditions, and try to make the best of it as loyal subjects of our beloved Sovereign the King Emperor and as citizens of India. May I venture also to say most emphatically that it is to the interests of Indians—Hindus and Muslims, Christians and Parsis alike—to accept the Reforms in a spirit of cordial appreciation, and that it now lies with us to do our utmost as enlightened citizens to co-operate with Government and our representatives in the Councils in working them for the common welfare of the people, remembering that if we make a practical and beneficent use of this opportunity, we shall surely, in time to come, get a further advance towards constitutional government. In fact I may say that self-government has come to our very doors. On the other hand, if we waste our time in squabbles over the form of the Regulations, and in general hostility towards what should be regarded as a settled fact, we shall lose the sympathy of our well-wishers in India and England, and the result will be that the growth of liberal institutions, and our slow progress on the long path towards ultimate parliamentary institutions in India, will be greatly retarded. We must all remember that if these Reforms fail, the alternative will not be a more liberal set of regulations, but a return to the status quo ante that will check the realization of our aspirations.

Public opinion in England scrutinizes India carefully and is

watching to see how we discharge the great trust committed to us. Are we Indians prepared to go forward on the road to reform or to recede and disappoint our friends? Do we desire further liberal concessions, or do we wish the curtailment of the rights now at last granted? There can be no doubt as to the reply. Is it not then the duty of all, Hindus as well as Mohammedans, to prove by our conduct and ability that we are capable of making practical improvements in the moral and material conditions of the people, which is after all the aim of wise governments? If we fail in the initial stage, what prospect is there of our obtaining the further liberalization of the rules and regulations at a later stage? A grave duty rests upon us in connection with the new Councils; they are not an end in themselves but are only the means to achieve an end, namely, the improvement of the moral, material and economic condition of our people by the diffusion of education and science, so as to develop the intelligence and humanity of our peoples in the highest sense. If we prove by our knowledge of the conditions of the country, by our zeal and efficiency, that our co-operation is an indispensable factor in the improvement of the administration of the country, then I have no doubt that gradually our area of utility and opportunity and powers will expand. But, if on the other hand, we view the Reform Scheme and the regulations under it in a spirit of obstructive particularism instead of using the wide powers placed in our hands for the conservation and development of those forces which are the dynamic factors in national progress all the world over, then as surely as night follows day, we shall divert the slant of fair wind which ought to drive us far on towards the realization of many of our cherished ambitions.

Hindu Muslim Co-operation

Now that we Musalmans have striven for and obtained a reasonable recognition of our rights, should we not consider what our aims are, what interests we have in common with our Hindu brethren, and what are the peculiar communal interests which will demand the steady attention of our representatives? Our first and foremost duty is to prove our active loyalty towards our Sovereign and his heirs and successors by our

endeavours to strengthen the foundation of British rule in India and its permanence by consolidating the sentiments of lovalty which permeate the land, by taking a ligitimate pride in the glorious Empire in which we are partners, by uniting the great sister communities through the bonds of sympathy, affection, and a community of interests. And may I plead again for no mere cold calculating loyalty, bound up with a materialistic sense of favours to come; but a warm passionate attachment to the Imperial House under which this country has made such gigantic strides, which has given us the most liberal rai the world has ever seen, and which along guarantees us the peaceful attainment of those grand national destinies that we believe to be in our hand -an attachment to His Majesty's throne and person, and through that to the historic institutions of which he is the head, which shall burn in our hearts and colour all our actions. Our representatives in the Councils are first there as loyal Indian subjects of the Emperor, and then as the guardians of any special interests of the Muslims. Their function in the Council is of a threefold character. In the first place, they must co-operate, as representative Indian citizens, with other Indians in advancing the well-being of the country by working wholeheartedly for the spread of education, for the establishment of free and universal primary education, for the promotion of commerce and industry, for the improvement of agriculture by the establishment of cooperative credit and distribution societies, and for the development of all the natural resources of the country. Here indeed is a wide field of work for Hindus and Mohammedans acting together, in forwarding practical measures that must tend to the permanent welfare of the country. In the second place, our representatives must be ready to co-operate with the Hindus and all other sections of society in securing for them all those advantages that serve their peculiar conditions and help their social welfare, for although the two sister-communities have developed on different lines, each suffers from some peculiar weakness in addition to the misfortunes common to general economic and educational backwardness. And then our representatives must watch and promote social measures exclusively for the benefit of their Muslim co-religionists with the co-operation, we hope, of the Hindu members; for we, too, have needs that are not known to them and which we alone can fully understand. We have committed to us the sacred duty of helping forward, with our sympathy and advice and practical help, the interest not only of Indian Musalmans, but also of our co-religionists outside India, whose true and permanent welfare depends, in no small measure, upon the greatness of England and upon the maintenance of the British Empire foremost in the councils of the world (sic).

I have no hesitation in asserting that unless Hindus and Mohammedans co-operate with each other in the general development of the country as a whole and in all matters affecting their mutual interests, neither will develop to the full its legitimate aspirations or give full scope to its possibilities. In order to develop their common economic and other interests, both should remember that one is the elder sister of the other, and that India is their common parent; religious differences should be naturally reduced to the minor position, as such differences have been in America and Western Europe. We must bear in mind that the healthy national unity which we seek to establish will not be promoted but retarded by forgetting the historical and social differences that have made Hindus and Mohammedans what they are to-day. We must determine what are the interests that we have in common with the Hindus, and cooperate for their advancement; then remember the measures necessary for the removal of our peculiar ills, and again help each other in removing them. What is the actual work of those who sit in the different Councils as our representatives, what is to become of the League, what is its legitimate sphere of work? My respected friend the Right Hon'ble Syed Ameer Ali has to some extent defined the proposed division of work of the League, and I fully and cordially agree with him. I need therefore say no more about it than this, that nothing would be more disastrous to our interests than the impression that its work is to be confined to the narrow limits of political activity or the attainment of merely selfish ends. It must embrace catholic interests in their broadest sense. We must ascertain the real. pressing needs of India; and then devote our attention and energies to satisfying them.

The Importance of Education

We have then before us a comprehensive programme involving

a vigorous, practical, sustained attack on the problems relating to education, agriculture, commerce and industry. I place free primary education for the masses in the front rank. Our aim must be to see that it is not only free and universal but also sufficiently practical to be of use to agriculturists and labourers. In arranging our courses of elementary education, we must keep in mind the fact that an immense proportion of those attending the primary schools do not proceed beyond them, and that they should be so designed that the pupil will fully benefit from the primary schools without reaching the secondary. We must concentrate our energies on primary education in such a way that there shall be no redundance or superfluity, so as to make it of real benefit to the recipients. The agricultural classes should in particular be given such training as will secure them the fruits of their industry. Our system of secondary education stands in need of a twofold development. We must extend and improve the facilities for imparting a sound grounding to those who are proceeding to the Arts Course, and then, on the other hand, we need urgently to develop a 'modern' side, which will be complete in itself, and will fully equip the student for a career in the rapidly increasing commercial activities of the country, or for the specialized scientific course, for which there is an evergrowing field. So far we have made little or no progress towards securing that diffused knowledge of science, which is absolutely essential if the country is to take its rightful place amongst the producer nations of the world. Until our teaching machinery is enormously improved, students in these special courses must obtain their instruction abroad, and there is no method better than the multiplication of Government and other scholarships. But we shall not rest content until there are provided in this country facilities for the instruction of its students up to the highest pitch demanded by the stress of modern industrial life. Then when we have our trained men, we have to assist them to develop the economic resources of the country. We must send our boys not only to England and the Continent but to America and Japan, so that they may learn the various processes in the lives of that great industrial commonwealth. Those who have acquired proficiency in commercial training should be helped by co-operative societies to open business not only in Europe and America but in Africa and Asia to find markets for

indigenous Indian products. To foster local industries, to relieve agricultural indebtedness, and to ameliorate the lot of the peasantry and encourage artisans, it is necessary to form extensive co-operative societies under the aegis of the Government.

Agricultural and Industrial Development

To obtain the regeneration of Indian arts and industries, either a temporary moderate system of protection, or some corresponding economic expedient should be adopted, so as to prevent the strangulation of these infant industries. We must have ever before our eyes the fact that the great mass of the Indian population is dependent upon agriculture. In Europe and North America, society has passed from the agricultural to the industrial stage of evolution, but here we are still in the primitive stage; our emergence from it will be slow and gradual, and Hindus and Mohammedans have ample scope for improving the lot of the toiling agriculturists, impoverished by the ravages of famine consequent upon drought and their social customs and thriftless habits. Here we have an immense agricultural class: our duty is to make that agriculture pay. By a rational system of elementary education we can keep the peasant from the coils of the usurer; by the extension of irrigation we can reduce his dependence upon an erratic rainfall. But the history of agriculture all the world over tells us that the salvation of the small cultivator lies in co-operation. Co-operation to secure cheap credit and wipe off the burden of hopeless debt that hangs round the necks of our ryots; co-operation to secure cheap and efficient distribution; co-operation in the introduction of agricultural implements and to profit by the lessons of our Research Institute and experimental farms—this is the only agency that can permanently benefit our backward agriculture. Then our industrial development must equally claim our united attention. No country in the world can be great or prosperous until its agricultural and industrial activities have been made mutually dependent on each other. It is commerce and trade that have made European countries prosperous and powerful; and if we aspire to our legitimate place in the British Empire, we must concentrate our mind on our economic development.

Support for Indians in South Africa

Another direction in which the two communities must immediately work together is on the burning question of the Indians in South Africa. Our fellow subjects, who are there maintaining an unequal struggle in a heroic manner that commands our admiration are wilfully subjected to persecution, insults and indignity and are branded with the undeserved stigma of an inferior race. We must all do all in our power to help our compatriots in South Africa. Hindus and Mohammedans have combined there in the common defence of the prestige of the whole Indian population; and the passive resistance they offer, amid untold privations and sufferings, with patience and martyrdom, must set an example to those here who are not ashamed to have a recourse to measures that have brought infinite shame and disgrace to India. If no better method can be found of bringing the Colonial Government to see the glaring injustice and cruelty of their acts to our brethren, we must ask the Government to stop all indented labour to South Africa as a mild step of retaliation. Yet another channel, and even more important for immediate purposes than anything else, in which Hindus and Mohammedans can co-operate with all their powers of mind and will, is the wiping out of the blot on the fair name of India by the extirpation of the anarchical cult. We must send earnest missionaries, form organizations and vigilance committees, and from pulpits and platforms, from mosques and temples, orders must emanate for the prevention of political crime, inflicting social disabilities on sedition-mongers and their disciples. In particular, students must be guarded from the tainted influence of the foolish and insane people who would ruin the country. All these are questions in which loyal and patriotic Hindus and loyal and patriotic Mohammedans can work hand in hand for a common goal with singleness of purpose and awakened conscience.

Muslim University

Now I will come to the questions of separate or exclusive Muslim interests, which, let me at once add, in no way clash with the interests of the great sister community, but still affect us only. Pre-eminent amongst these practical questions is the foundation of a Muslim University at Aligarh. As I pointed out here seven years ago, our youth must be in a position to acquire, in addition to modern science, a knowledge of the glorious past of our religion. Without a sincere and deep but unobtrusive and charitable faith, without that childlike feeling of dependence on the Unseen Power of which the visible universe is but a sign, our youth can never develop their highest and noblest faculties, their spiritual and emotional qualities. Our university must be a residential university. Like those great seats of learning, Oxford and Cambridge, it will strive to form the character, as well as train the intellect, and satisfy the emotions through the medium of a loving and charitable faith, of discipline, of field sport, and that intangible atmosphere that environs all which is best in university life. It should be the home of great ideas and great ideals. But it should also be much more: our efforts ought to be bent to the task of making Aligarh a Muslim Oxford—an educational centre and intellectual capital to which all Muslims should turn for light and guidance. We should lay bare before the rising generations the treasures concealed in ancient Arabic lore with a view to developing the spiritual and emotional side of their nature, which in its true sense is now even more backward than our economic condition. In order to enable us to come in touch with what is best in the ancient Hindu civilization and better to enable us to understand the origin and structure of Hindu thought and religion in its widest sense, as well as to inculcate in us a feeling of respect and affection for our fellow-subjects, and to teach us to consider their customs and their prejudices. Sanskrit and other Oriental literature ought also to be given due prominence in the curricula. The object of the university is not to gratify mere sentiment or vanity; we believe it to be necessary for the true development of our principles and the ultimate spiritual unity of our faith. Commonsense and science alike teach us that we are not independent agents but links between the past and the future; and all that is healthy and glorious in the past should be preserved, taught and understood, because it exercises a beneficial influence on the future. It is therefore necessary that all that is good should be conserved, to enable us to hold a spiritual communion with the beloved figures of the Prophet and his

companions and with our splendid historic past. To avoid the catastrophe involved in the radical separation of ancient and modern ideals, the university is our great need. Moreover, it is our aim to develop discipline and reverence in our youth, and instil in their minds the principles of toleration, piety and charity, so that they can live in concord and harmony with other races. Our loyalty to the Throne must be absolute, and our relations with the Hindus and all other Indian communities who share that loyalty must frankly be most cordial. Otherwise our political activities will tend to the undoing of both, and ultimately prove detrimental even to the British Power. The true interests of the British Empire can never lie in a policy of 'divide and rule'. Such a policy, as British and Indian statesmen worthy of the name well know, can only weaken their ultimate power and make India a source of anxiety instead of a source of strength.

The Political Faith of Ordered Development

Whilst we hold fast to our own religious, social, and ethical ideals, whilst we hold equally fast to the separate organization and separate representation which are essential for their maintenance and to secure for community its due influence in the body politic, it must be the desire of our rulers, no less than of ourselves, to pursue these ideals, to work out our constructive programme, in harmonious co-operation with all other Indians who accept the cardinal principles of our political faith—the ordered development of this country under the Imperial Crown. Time, the opportunities for co-operation in stimulating the social and economic progress of the country, and the diffusion of education will also, I believe, remove the acerbities attaching to the religious difficulties and caste disabilities which sap the foundation of Indian society, so that they will become, in the distant future, the minor forces that they are now in Western Europe and America. If we extend hearty and sincere co-operation in each other's transactions and interests and pursue higher ideals and act with moderation and judicious calm, then I have no apprehension for the future of India.

Wakf-alal-Aulad

Now I will say a few words in special support of the suggestions made by my distinguished friend Syed Ameer Ali, the President of the London Branch of this League—whose absence from our deliberations I deplore more than I can say—as to the system of Wakf-alal-Aulad. This is again our exclusive interest, but I hope the Hindus will co-operate with us in seeing that Muslim families are not broken to pieces. We must strive to bring about a satisfactory solution of this important question, as it is necessary that Muslim families should be protected against the impoverishing influence of constant and vexatious sub-divisions. I feel very strongly on the subject, with Syed Ameer Ali, and I think this is a question where our Muslim representatives can directly set to work, and thus benefit the community. I fully endorse the various practical suggestions made by Syed Ameer Ali, but I do not wish to tire you out by treading same ground, as most of you are already familiar with my full agreement with his views on the practical proposals placed before us in his usual forceful manner by the London President.

The Future

And now, gentlemen, let me say a final word with regard to the future. We have before us a convincing demonstration of the altruism and liberality of British statesmanship. In the midst of difficulties so great that at times they threatened to overcast the political horizon, undaunted by acts of anarchy in India and those conservative influences that must beset the path of the reformer in every country and in every age, Lord Minto and Lord Morley have turned a bright new page in Indian history. We do not know which to admire most—the courage and sympathy of the Viceroy, or the judgement, intellectual strength and sober liberalism of Lord Morley. But we are confronted by the fruits of their work. We see the representatives of all classes of people in this country brought to the Councils of the Imperial and provincial governments in numbers never before approached. We see these Councils endowed with an authority, with opportunities for making the opinions of its members known and operative, to a degree far transcending any that existed in the past, associating us indeed with the daily administration of the country. The future lies more largely than ever with ourselves. By the measure in which we rise to these responsibilities shall we be judged, will the fortunes of the land to which we are passionately attached rise—or fall. Fully conscious of these opportunities, let me once again earnestly appeal to all to support law and order, remembering the immense blessings British rule has conferred upon this land. Never was the condition of Indians more happy than it is to-day. Never was peace of the country so serene and secure as under the Crown. Fifty years of British rule in India, since it passed to the direct control of the Crown from the East India Company, has changed the entire character and political aspect of the country. We have been secured against strife and disorder. The elevation of the people in the scale of civilization by means of Western training, the development of the country by encouraging foreign capital, the gradual disappearance of social and traditional barriers through the levelling influence of education, the security of life, property and peace, and the dispensation of justice with an even hand to rich and poor alike, the guarantee of freedom of thought and speech, and liberty of press, and above all religious toleration, have all brought about a silent but steady change in the thoughts, aspirations and manners and behaviour of the people. We are at the beginning of a period of renaissance and reform in the social. economic and political life of the people, and by ethical teachings we may inspire our youth and their descendants, with a genuine love of their country and fellowmen. The moral and material and intellectual condition of the population presents a curious and on the whole a favourable contrast with the pre-British period: and in the words of the philosopher-statesman that rules India, the bureaucracy in India has proved to be "a great and splendid machine for performing the most difficult task that ever was committed to the charge of any nation". Indian public spirit is cultivated on Western lines, the intellectual expansion is quickened in a marvellous degree. New hopes and new ambitions have been created as a natural sequence of this instruction, and to meet them British statesmen have wisely resolved to give Indians a far larger share in the administration of the country. No human agency can be perfect in this world and that applies to British rule as to all others; but even if the British Government had no other claim on our affections, these great political concessions alone would entitle them to our deep and sincere gratitude. But they have, as you and I know full well, changed the destiny of the country, set afoot progressive agencies, the end of which is not yet in sight, and brought the country into line with the civilized countries of Europe, proving in the words of the great English poet:

Peace has her victories, No less renowned than war.

All this is due to the beneficial influence of Pax Britannica. Now may I ask whether we have paid our debt to the Empire, to our country and to our community? The community that carried culture to the Pyrenees and to Central Asia, the community that can still recall with emotional pride the greatness of Cordova and Damascus cannot be dead to its sense of duty. I appeal to you with all the force in my power, I entreat you with all the earnestness at my command, to imitate the spirit of those who made Toledo and Baghdad, to dream day and night, to work day in day out, for the noble object of elevating Muslim life so as to hold forth the highest ideals before the younger generation. The task before us is of stupendous magnitude, the path of progress is endless; but if we have at heart the true interests of Islam, no obstacle and no sacrifice will be too great to speed our onward march on the path of progress.

I fervently pray that for ever we shall have the Imperial dynasty and the Union Jack as the abiding centre of our real national unity, that our immediate aim shall be to make young generations virtuous and efficient and our posterity robust and healthy, so that it may fulfil its legitimate part in the Empire with honour to the race. Let our pole-star be active and unimpeachable loyalty to the Sovereign and the glory of India and of Islam.

His Highness the Aga Khan then introduced to the audience the President of the Session, Sir Ghulam Mohammad Ali Khan Bahadur, K.C.I.E., the Prince of Arcot, whose splendid ancestry, he said, was well known throughout Asia. The President then took the Chair amidst vociferous cheers and delivered his Address, which was received with remarkable enthusiasm.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS BY SIR GHULAM MOHAMMAD ALI KHAN

Your Highness and Gentlemen, I thank you for the great honour that you have conferred on me by selecting me to be your President at this Session of the All-India Muslim League. Believe me that though I yield to none in my earnest desire to help forward the cause of the community to which you and I belong, it was with great hesitation that I accepted the high responsibility to which I have been called. My diffidence is due to the consciousness that I am but an apprentice in the field of national service compared to the past masters before whom I am privileged to stand. This feeling is still heightened, when I remember that this place was to have been occupied by so trusted and eminent a leader of our community as the Right Honourable Syed Ameer Ali. Though we are denied the privilege of meeting him face to face by the gracious call which has been made upon his services by our august Sovereign-an event, let me say in passing, at which we all rejoice as making an important extension in the privileges of the Indian subjects of His Majesty—, it is a source of satisfaction to us that we are not left altogether without his valuable guidance. He has sent a message to the League, which you will presently have the pleasure to listen to, and I have no doubt that you will appreciate the words of wisdom and counsel which that patriot has felt it necessary to send, in his solicitude for the welfare of the community to whose interests he has dovoted his life-long energies and resources. Inspired by the spirit of this message and stimulated by the magnetic personality of our respected President. H.H. the Aga Khan, you will, I trust, extend to me that friendly co-operation and kindly indulgence which is so essential to the proper discharge of the duties of my office.

Many events of importance have occurred since we met last at Amritsar—events both of a pleasurable as well as painful nature. But by far the greatest of these is the introduction in this country of the great Scheme of Reforms initiated by Lords Minto and Morley, and the awakening in the community which it has been instrumental in causing. The varying vicissitudes through which this Scheme passed at various times, though often of a nature to damp our ardour and spirits, fortunately served

as a powerful incentive to further efforts, and resulted in an unprecedented outburst of political activity which has wiped out the stigma of utter inertness so long attaching to our name. Hundreds of meetings were held all over the country under the auspicies of the numerous leagues and associations, and respectful representations were made to Government, praying for protection of Musalman interests in the spirit of the famous pledge of H.E. Lord Minto to the All-India Muslim Deputation in October 1906. A generous minister and a fair-minded administration have recognized the justice of our demands, and we have met here to-day, full of heartfelt gratitude, to consider how best we might show ourselves worthy of the high trust that has been reposed in us. It is true that the Indian Musalmans have not got all they prayed for and that was legitimately their due. In the scheme of representation adopted for the Imperial Council, our brethren in the North-West Frontier Province, Baluchistan and the Central Provinces have not been conceded the privilege of sending up their representatives, nor have our brethren in the Punjab been invested with the right of electing their representatives on the Imperial Council, nor has separate representation been conceded to them on the Provincial Council. Our Burman co-religionists remain utterly unrepresented on the expanded Councils. Nevertheless, we accept the Reforms in the spirit of loyalty and gratitude which has ever characterized our communal policy towards the benign Government. The enlightened leadership of H.H. the Aga Khan, and the Right Hon'ble Sved Ameer Ali, has not only secured for us our rights at the hands of the Government, but has brought about a wonderful solidarity and uniformity of ideas in the community. And it is our fervent hope that with their continued advice and help, we shall in time be able to prove ourselves worthy of the great responsibilities that have been thrown upon us by the Reforms just introduced, and to falsify the misgivings that some of our countrymen have entertained without any justification as regards our attitude towards our sister communities.

Permit me, gentlemen, at this juncture to observe that to me it seems unreasonable to condemn the Reforms wholesale, as is being done in certain quarters. To all right-minded persons these Reforms are really the outcome of the generous instinct of farsighted British statesmen, whose only desire is to satisfy, in as

liberal a manner as is consistent with the safety of the Empire and its many-sided interests, the growing aspirations of the Indian peoples, even at a time when the inhuman and anarchical acts perpetrated by a mischievous and detested section of our countrymen might well have justified a different policy. I cannot understand with what logic, or reason, the separate electorates, introduced with a commendable desire to protect the special interests of important minorities, are characterized as designed to serve like iron walls for dividing one community from another. To me it appears that separate representation is the only provision calculated to prevent undesirable conflict between two unequally balanced communities, as is inevitable in a contest where candidates of different races and creeds compete for the same honour. The recent elections to the different Legislative Councils in the country furnish an excellent objectlesson in this respect. Though Musalmans have been returned by certain mixed electorates, it is, in spite of whatever our Hindu brethren might choose to say to the contrary, clear from an impartial survey of facts that their success was due only to sheer chance, the Hindus generally voting only for the candidates of their own persuasion. And it is noteworthy that the return of these Musalmans, though entirely due to exceptional circumstances which from their very nature cannot be expected to recur, has been made use of by a class of Hindu publicists as a ground for condemning the right of separate representation granted to our community. This attitude of our friends is certainly not calculated to promote that harmony and co-operation between the two communities which they profess to bring about. The attitude of the Parsis and the native Christians in asking for separate electorates show an appreciation of the benefits likely to result from communal representation. And it is my firm conviction that if ever Indian solidarity is to be attained, it will be not so much by the narrow-minded policy, which certain of our countrymen are following, of insisting on a uniformity of views in all respects, and of belittling the importance of opinions and sentiments which are different from their own, but by a liberalminded recognition of the differences that exist amongst ourselves, and a general desire to give each one his due, so as to secure mutual goodwill and consideration for the sake of our common motherland. This has the more to be kept in mind, especially as

the Reforms which have now been conceded, form but an earnest of the greater measures which are yet to follow. The institutions of local self-government are shortly to be remodelled and as the Musalmans have always held that if the Reforms are to be really effective, the principle of separate representation should be carried deep down to the lowermost rungs of the ladder; and it will be our duty to press for the formation of separate electorates in all municipal, taluque and district boards.

Much has been said and still more may be said of the importance of the Reforms; but in my view, their greatest value consists in the political education which they are calculated to impart to the people at large. Already, the awakening which our leaders had brought about in the community with so much difficulty has been remarkably enhanced. Even people usually given to supreme apathy and indifference have been aroused to a sense of the necessity of bestirring themselves. Not the least evidence of this transformation in the community is found in the Southern Presidency where a Provincial League has been successfully formed and separate representation introduced under satisfactory conditions. It has been my privilege to be connected with this movement and watch its progress from its very commencement; and it is my firm conviction that the policy which we have hitherto pursued, the policy of loyalty to Government, of the protection of our interests and friendliness to our neighbours, is a sound and safe one and—not withstanding all the difficulties which His Highness the Aga Khan alluded to in one of his recent utterances—will lead to our ultimate Success.

I do not think it necessary for me to discuss in any detail either our policy or the subjects that will engage your attention during the next three days. This has been dealt with by our President in his eloquent opening address, and the gentlemen who will address you after me will, no doubt, have a great deal to say in this connection. Let me, however, refer in brief to some of the chief means by which I think we may achieve the national regeneration which we all have in view.

Need to Develop Muslim Press

Foremost amongst these, is the question of the Muslim Press,

which I observe with pain and regret, is not sufficiently strong. In these days when the press may be truly said to rule the world, it is impossible to take the fullest and the best advantage of the awakening in our community, without having powerful organs of public opinion. I appeal to the well-to-do leaders of the community to look upon the establishment of newspapers, especially of a strong English daily in every province, as a philanthrohic concern and raise, by subscriptions amongst themselves, a sufficiently large fund to start and maintain them in a prosperous and efficient condition.

A Muslim University

Another powerful means of influencing the community to push on the propaganda we have set before ourselves has to do with the education of our younger generation. The question of raising the Aligarh College to the status of a university is intimately connected with the fortunes of the political movement in the community as with its educational or social advancement. It is recognized on all hands that the safe and sound policy along which the Indian Musalmans are moving at the present time is due, in no small measure, to the healthy tone which the M.A.O. College imparts to its Alumni and, through them, to the community at large; and I feel sure that when, as a university, it becomes a central seat of learning and the chief fountainhead of thought for the Mussalman world, this process of expansion will be guickened, and its healthy tone will communicate itself to the future leaders of the community and exercise a salutary influence on all the followers of Islam. In this view it is necessary that the question of a Muslim university should be taken up and handled on this platform as on the platform of the All-India Mohammedan Educational Conference.

Urdu as a Common Vernacular

A third way of bringing about the desired regeneration of the community is the extension of Urdu as the common vernacular of all the Mussalmans in the country. Community of language is universally admitted to be a powerful factor in securing the unity of a people, and Urdu, which is already spoken by considerable numbers and which is generally understood in all parts of this continent, is pre-eminently fitted to serve this purpose.

Moreover, Urdu has preserved all the good features of an Oriental language and has not been contaminated by the disturbing influences which, though foreign to our soil, have unfortunately begun to make inroads into the other vernaculars. The loyal and respectful tone towards the Government which the Urdu press has maintained in the hands of the Musalmans, even during the most stirring period in recent times, illustrates clearly what I mean. Assuredly, a language which possesses such inherent capacity and virtues deserves the solid support of the community. It is encouraging to remember that, day by day, the sphere of the influence of Urdu is extending. Even in such a distant part of the Empire as Madras, people whose mother tongue is Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam or Canarese, are increasingly adopting Urdu for all practical purposes and are founding schools in which Urdu forms the medium of instruction. I trust that all lovers of the country and all lovers of peace and progress will try their best to strengthen this tendency and strenuously strive to make Urdu the common language of all India.

Gentlemen, these are trite commonplaces, no doubt, but I have so long occupied you with them for the simple reason that, more often than not, we are in danger of forgetting even such commonplaces merely on account of their familiarity.

The renewed agitation of the Bangalis for the repeal of the Partition of Bengal has created some uneasiness in the minds of our co-religionists, especially in Eastern Bengal; but I am convinced that there is not the least ground for any such misgivings, inasmuch as the highest authorities have declared it to be a settled fact, and any tampering with that decision will be as dangerous to the prestige of the British rule in this country as it will, undoubtedly, be injurious to the vital interests of our community.

Before I sit down, let me remind you of a duty which we owe to ourselves and to our benign Government. It is admitted on all hands that peace and tranquility are sacred blessings, which have been secured to us by the British Raj, and without them no progress of any kind is possible. To the misfortune of our country, a nefarious broad of *pseudo*-patriots has sprung up in

the land, with the unholy objects of defying British authority and causing a state of confusion and anarchy. Only recently, the diabolical murder of a popular Collector at Nasik in the South, the attempt on the life of the Deputy Commissioner of Ambala in the North, and the dastardly shooting of a Mohammedan Inspector of the Criminal Investigation Department in the East, have sent a thrill of horror throughout the country. These revolting outrages have brought home with greater force the imperative necessity, on the part of all law-abiding citizens of this Empire, of devising concerted action to uproot the poisonous growth which has appeared amongst us. I appeal to you all, as the real lovers of the awakening and the advancement I have spoken of, to range yourselves on the side of the administration that has facilitated the regeneration of our community and to help to destroy the monster which threatens the peace of our country.

In conclusion, my earnest prayer is that it may be given to us to walk in the footsteps of our great forefathers, to remain true to our time-honoured traditions of active loyalty to the Government that affords us protection, and of goodwill towards the neighbours with whom our lot is cast, and withal render faithful service to Islam to which we are all so proud to belong.

At the request of His Highness the Aga Khan, the Right Hon'ble Syed Ameer Ali's speech was then read by Mian Mohammad Shafi:

SPEECH BY SYED AMEER ALI

Your Highness, Rajas, Nawabs and Gentlemen, in 1908 you did me the honour of inviting me to preside at the Session of the League at Amritsar, but as ill-luck would have it I was unable to do so. With unusual indulgence you repeated your invitation, and on the persuasion of our President, my esteemed and valued friend, His Highness the Aga Khan, I accepted the position; and in fact at his instance, and to suit His Highness' and my convenience, you fixed the Session of the League late in January, for which I am most recognizant to you. But circumstances have again arisen to prevent my personal attendance. Next year, perhaps, if you are still disposed to hear my words, I may be more fortunate. Meanwhile, acting on our President

H.H. the Aga Khan's suggestion, I send you herewith my written greetings.

Since your last Session important constitutional changes have been inaugurated in the country, the full results of which can hardly be realized yet. Others are on the *tapis*, which, when formulated, will no doubt be carefully considered by you in all their bearings.

Throughout the controversy to which the Reform proposals gave rise, the Musalman attitude. I am glad to say, was singularly sober and moderate, not actuated by any ill-will or antagonism towards any other community. The Musalmans were animated with the single desire of safeguarding their rights and interests in such form as would give them an assured position in the political institutions of the country. Neither their claims nor their actions in urging them implied any encroachment on, or, disregard of the rights of any other body. The Musalman people owe a debt of gratitude to the League and its branches and to the cognate organisations for having, in the first place, grasped the situation that had suddenly risen in India, and in the second place, for having consistently followed the policy necessary in dealing with it. To understand the difficulty with which they were confronted, you have only to realize the disintegrated condition of Musalman society—due to causes partly of our own creation, the utter inability, in most cases, to understand the real method of work or the nature of the remedies needed under the circumstances. To these must be added the lack of political training, so essential in progressive communities to take full advantage of the extension of constitutional privileges. Until very recently, the preaching of those amongst you who had to some extent studied the signs and portents of the times and knew with some certainty what was coming, had been literally a cry in the wilderness. Whilst other communities had combined with purely literary education considerable political training, our people had sedulously refused to occupy themselves with the question of communal organization or the consideration of communal interests prosecuted with wisdom and advocated in unselfishness. We had remained content with purely academic training. Individualism, the curse of Musalman communities was encouraged; little or no attempt was made to show the unity of interests between the various classes comprising Musalman

society. No considered effort was directed to stay its further disintegration, nay, decomposition; and when we awoke but the other day and realized what was impending, we naturally found the field occupied by more alert rivals. If I am laying bare the mistakes of the past, it is only with the object of drawing your attention, as earnest Muslims and true patriots, sincerely bent on the improvement of our people, as I believe you are, to the work which lies before us in the future.

In the great controversy which has just closed regarding the share of the Mohammedans in the new constitutional privileges the Crown has extended to the people of India, I have not been able to understand the rigidity displayed by so many high-placed officials towards the Musalman claims.

The subject, however, may be regarded for the present as res judicata, and I sincerely trust that the two great communities whom the Reforms mainly affect will decide to work together in harmony and concord for the good of their common country. They have both to live together, to progress together, and in evil days to suffer together. The Musalmans have established their right to be in the land by a longer domicile than the Normans in England; many of them have the same blood in their veins as their Hindu fellow-countrymen. There is no reason whatever why, in spite of difference of religion, customs, habits of life and ideals, they should not co-operate in the great task which lies before them both, of promoting the welfare of India under the aegis of the British Crown. National development, even the fulfilment of the dream of self-government, depends on the co-operation of both races in a spirit of amity and concord. I have used the word 'dream' in connection with selfgovernment, not from any thought of disparagement, but because I feel that for many years to come British rule in India is a vital necessity. I firmly believe that if Great Britain were to lose her hold over this country before the divers races, creeds and nationalities have thoroughly learnt the value of a spirit of compromise and toleration in the management of public affairs—before they have clearly understood the responsibilities of citizenship, it will mean a relapse into the anarchy of 150 years ago, a fierce religious and racial struggle, and a collapse of the fabric so laboriously built up within the last half century. The idea that any one particular race can hold down the others without outside help must be dismissed as an idle dream. Musalman supremacy was laid to dust when Aurangzeb went to his grave; Hindu supremacy received its death-blow when the Musalman confederation shattered the Mahratta host on the banks of the Jamna; Panipat paved the way for the rise of British power in India. It was indeed a wise decree of Providence that enabled the British to take over the helm from the last de jure sovereign of India. And it would be rank ingratitude of Hindus and Mohammedans alike were not to recognize the greatness of the work achieved by England with the legacy left to her by India's previous rulers.

To the Musalmans of India the permanence of British rule is a matter of the utmost importance; their sympathies and their interests extend far beyond the limits of the Indian continent, and the peaceful maintenance and development of all they value depends on England retaining her predominant place in the councils of the civilized world. It is therefore essential for us to associate ourselves whole-heartedly with the maintenance of law and order, to co-operate in all loyalty of spirit with the servants of the Crown to promote the country's welfare, and to put aside any wild and visionary dreams about India's sudden emergence to independence. At the present stage of the country's development, it behoves us all to impress on our rising generation the duties of loyal citizenship and the necessity of realizing India's needs in a sober spirit.

At the same time, I do not wish to recommend that you should cease to urge your claims to your share in the benefits of British rule, or to raise your voice against the unfair treatment of your fellow-countrymen in any part of the Empire, or forego your right to question arbitrary acts of executive authority. You would fail in your duty both to yourselves and to your Sovereign if you did not object with all the strength in your command, but constitutionality, to any measure which you were convinced was to the detriment of your people or your country.

Gentlemen, so long as you work in this spirit, no man will have the right to complain of the loyalty and sincerity of your motives or the justice of your action. Rancour and spite you

^{1.} Here two sentences that are repeated almost word for word in the following paragraph are omitted.

cannot control; but honest public opinion in England and India will never question the correctness of your attitude or the validity of your conduct.

With the very large extension of representative institutions, a new era has opened in India. How the privileges the Crown has granted to peoples of the country will be used, whether to its good or to its detriment, whether they will lead to concord and harmony or to discord and strife remains to be seen. One thing is certain, that unless the Hindus and Mohammedans accept the new machinery of administration in the spirit in which it has been granted and use it as a means for the economic as well as the political development of India, 'The Reform' will not prove a blessing.

Economic Development

For our own people the question of economic development over-shadows all others. It has an importance for every class; the rich magnate, the wealthy landholder cannot dissociate himself from his humble brother of the lower ranks of the middle class without serious injury to the whole body, himself included. To no community is the old saying of the Persian poet more applicable than to the Musalman:

Bani Adam azae yak deegarand

Human beings are the limbs of one body.

The interests of each class are bound up with those of the other; and therefore the material well-being and economic progress of the whole community is a matter of moment and concern to every Musalman.

Within the last 40 years, education, and especially English education, has made enormous strides among the Musalman people. Yet the material and economic condition of the general body of Mohammedans has not improved in proportion. In parts of the country there are distinct signs of retrogression. We have first to understand the causes of this deplorable feature in our national life, before attempting to seek remedies. The fact is that for many years past a steady process of disintegration.

and demoralization, partly induced by circumstances and forces beyond our control, has been going on in our midst: our men of wealth have not chosen to descend from their pedestals, until quite recently, to take part in the national life; since we awoke to the value of modern Western culture, our education has remained one-sided; we did not realize until yesterday—and I doubt it is thoroughly realized even now—the importance of political training.

Although thrift is part of the religion of Islam, we in India allow it little scope in practice. And what is the consequence: steady impoverishment of the community. State service and the profession of law monopolize the energies of a large number of the intelligent sections of the community. Many profitable fields of industry, commerce and trade lie uncultivated; while technical education and the study of practical science do not attract the attention they deserve. Nor has any method of co-operation been thought of with the object of checking the impoverishment of Musalman families.

These are questions which no Musalman who loves his people or his religion can think of without the deepest concern. Each defect singly would tend to undermine the prosperity of the best organized community; combined they are fatal where cohesiveness is wanting among the different sections.

As a consequence of the administrative conditions recently introduced in India, I fear political pursuits will, in the future, largely engross the activities of the Indian peoples. Much of the energy that might be devoted with advantage to the development of the country, in directions which lead to her intellectual and material progress, will be diverted to the generally barren fields of politics.

'System of Moderation' in Politics

I should like to warn my co-religionists against neglecting, in favour of political pursuits, those departments of industry or study which conduce to national prosperity. Far be it from me to say one word to discourage or dissuade you from keeping consistently before you your political rights and privileges, from insisting on their recognition, and educating your people to understand their meaning and to realize that rights imply duties.

What I do desire to impress on you is that it would be fatal for you ever to allow all your energies to be absorbed in politics, as you allowed them to be absorbed in purely academic education. I consider it a mischievous sign of political activity that when four seats are allotted to Musalmans on a provincial council, 14 notables of more or less equal worth should emerge from their solitudes to engage in a hot contest for election. As they cannot possibly occupy separate political platforms, as their policy on public questions must be identical, the contest must of necessity take a turn of personal rivalry, the effect of which cannot be very healthy on the community. I appeal to the good sense of my people to abandon that characteristic which so stubbornly stood in the path of their progress. I would suggest to the Central League and all the Musalman organizations throughout the country to join in establishing what may be called a 'system of moderation' for the election of Musalman members on councils, district boards, municipalities and local boards. An influential advisory committee in all important centres might be of considerable assistance in bringing about compromise in the public interests, between rival candidates. Such a course would add strength to the Musalman cause, would be patriotic, and in accord with the dictates of religion. Difficulties may suggest themselves to prevent our deriving full benefit from such committees. But I am confident their establishment would to a great extent ease the present tension in the Musalman community. The 'system of moderation' I venture to suggest will not interfere with the legitimate ambitions of any politician: but endeavouring to remove frictions and personal rivalries, assure to each candidate a successful issue and to the community some degree of credit—for the present condition in some parts of the country is little short of scandalous.

Solidarity and Development

Some effort should also be directed towards infusing a greater spirit of solidarity into Mohammedan society and removing the evil effects of the process of disintegration that has been going on amongst us for the last hundred years, and which has aggravated the feeling of egoistic individualism. I regard this failing as a deplorable evil among our people, which weakens

our communal strength and deprives us of the advantages resulting from sustained loyalty to and co-operation with each other. A little while ago The Times in an article dealing with the centrifugal tendencies of the Spanish character remarked that if seven Spaniards were to form a political association, it would soon split into three with one independent. Unfortunately that criticism applies with equal appositeness to the Mohammedans in many parts of India. I would strongly urge on Musalmans of light and leading, in general, and the Musalman organizations, in particular, some system of regular social reunions at each centre, where Muslims would meet on friendly terms and discuss subjects of communal interest in a broad spirit, with an honest desire to sink personal differences and to subordinate personal ambitions to the well-being of the community. We must recognize that it serves no useful purpose to fritter away our strength in petty dispute or in forming party combinations against each other.

There should be clubs, such as exist in England, and have come recently into being in Turkey, in connection with the provincial and district Leagues for lectures on subjects of political, economic or scientific interest, for discussions and reading of works on history, political economy and other cognate subjects, so as to engender a genuine and enlightened public spirit among our people.

We ought to be content no longer with merely passing resolutions. If the central and the provincial Leagues were to adopt the suggestion I am making and introduce it into their working programme, I would further suggest that leading and influential members should visit local centres and assist in the organization of these clubs. Periodical inspections would be necessary on their part to encourage and sustain the interest of local members which has always a tendency to flag, to smooth frictions which have a peculiar habit of springing up—and generally to induce a spirit of camaraderie and good-fellowship. The same system, I would humbly urge, should be adopted in the provincial centres with the necessary adaptation. One great idea should dominate all the steps we take to create a real, abiding, intelligent interest among our people, high and low, in the national welfare. For in this connection, we must not overlook our common failing, that when we have no great immediate purpose

in view, our energies slacken, and, to use a colloquialism, we let our work slide. This should not be allowed under any circumstance. It should be our constant endeavour to keep our co-religionists alive to the crying needs of progress and national development under the aegis of the great Power which holds in its hands the destinies of India.

As I have already briefly indicated, there are many questions affecting the well-being of our people which will require your attention. I think you will agree with me that their economic and material condition is of the utmost importance, and you will have to consider, among other problems, how best to prevent the impoverishment of Musalmans and the passing of Musalman estates into other hands, how to foster industries among them to encourage trade and commerce, a better and more practical use of academic learning. I am merely indicating the directions to which, in our newly awakened desire to improve the general condition of our people, we will have to devote our energies.

Settlement of Family Disputes and Thrift

The impoverishment of Musalman families is a subject of stupendous magnitude. All progress, communal and individual, depends on stability of fortune. Superficially regarded, the Islamic system may seem socialistic; but while the great Founder of our Faith, in his endeavour to remedy the great injustice that prevailed in all the countries of the world when he made his appearance, ordained a division of property among the heirs of a deceased owner, he, at the same time, with his wonderful and divinely inspired genius, laid down a rule which provides a remedy against the consequences of infinite subdivisions among a succession of heirs. This is the institution designated in the Islamic system as Wakf-alal-Aulad. An endeavour should be made to place it on a satisfactory basis. The easiest solution would be to obtain from the Legislature a validating act that would give statutory recognition, with adequate safeguards against fraud, to a principle of supreme importance to the Musalman people.

But this alone, in my judgement, will not be sufficient to check the impoverishment and ultimate effacement of Muslim

families. Musalmans must in the first place be taught thrift. Let us bear in mind what our Holy Book says:

But let not thy hand be tied up to thy neck, nor yet open it with all openness less thou sit down in rebuke in beggary.

Secondly, they must learn the value of co-operation and selfhelp, and thirdly, they must seek from the Legislature the reestablishment of courts of arbitration for the settlement of family disputes. Family litigation is the curse of Indian society. The moment a well-to-do Indian dies, be he Hindu or be he Mohammedan, his inheritance finds its way into the melting-pot; dishonest employees encourage domestic disputes with a view to reaping a rich harvest for themselves. The money-lender, sitting at the gate of every fairly prosperous family, is ready to finance the disputants, conscious of the fact that whether they lose or win, his is the ultimate gain. It is notorious that the cost of li-- tigation has increased enormously within recent years. In England there are two grades in the profession, in India there are at least three; and they all receive their quota of the death-duties, which the mahajans help in extracting from the estate of the deceased. No country, however prosperous, certainly no community circumstanced as the Mohammedan, can make headway against this insidious and persistent system of destruction. Within my own experience, four families have risen and disappeared successively in one district. A Musalman family was displaced by an enterprising syndicate consisting of two marwari bankers. who in their turn were destroyed by another marwari mahajan, and this man, I now understand, is making room for another member of his class.

The disastrous consequences to the prosperity and progress of the country from this eternal whirl of life and death, can hardly be overrated. We hear a great deal of the impoverishment, ruin and havoc caused among families who form so many centres of the country's prosperity, by the complex legal and economic conditions which have come into existence under British rule. Stable conditions are as necessary to the progress of the people as a stable propertied class is to the safety of the State, but the Government preoccupied in its work of political reforms has little time, still less the inclination, to grapple with the problem. Unwelcome suggestions from quarters not viewed

with favour have either been received with impatience or pigeonholed with official courtesy. As the questions I have indicted are of the utmost importance to the Musalman community. I venture to suggest that you should move the Government to reestablish the arbitration courts which existed in the early part of the nineteenth century for the settlement of family disputes, and to induce the ordinary courts of justice to discourage family litigation. This, I submit, will not conduce to the benefit of one community only, but to that of all, and ought to receive the support of every friend of the Indian people, irrespective of creed and race. I know that the Government derives a large income from court fees, which some people regard as a taxation on justice, and that you may probably by your proposal rouse the opposition of large and powerful interests. But do not allow yourselves to be discouraged by the failure of your first attempt; go on hammering at the gate until you have gained admittance.

As a corollary to the above proposition, I strongly urge the formation of co-operative associations for mutual help, whose first duty should be to save Mohammedan families, so far as possible, from disruption, and in the last resort to 'buy in', so to speak, Musalman estates. I believe it is perfectly feasible and practicable to devise a system of co-operative work of this kind on strict business lines; and I would commend its consideration to the Economic Section of the League, to which I presently refer.

Work, Education and Training

My remarks so far relate to the sections of our community who are fortunate in the immediate possession of means and property and to whom the conservation of such means is important. But there is a large body to whom its acquisition forms the spur to activity; they seek your assistance for finding outlets for their energies or for showing them the way for the employment of their talents and industry. The legal profession is overcrowded and many have taken to it who have little aptitude for its initial drudgery and constant assiduity. State service affords but a narrow field of occupation, and it is already held largely by representatives of other communities whom it would, in any circumstances, be difficult to dislodge. Why should you

not look out for other avenues to means and prosperity? Your forefathers never condemned trade, commerce, or any form of industry. Kings applied themselves to learn handicrafts. Viziers were merchants. The greatest scholars, scientists and poets had some vocation. The Prophet himself constantly preached the dignity of labour.

The training of your youths, especially in upper India, in Bengal and in the Punjab, has been mostly academic, either with a view to State service or to the pursuit of law. Your educational institutions, I trust, will now realize the necessity of giving an important place in the curriculum of their studies to technical education. The Karachi Islamia College, in the establishment of which I had some little part, has already set the example. Many fields of industry are lying mostly untouched by our people: to yield a return they all require training and technical knowledge which your educational institutions could easily impart; and many need a certain amount of capital. Here again, the co-operative associations, proceeding not on charitable, but on strictly business lines, can come to the assistance of enterprising youths really in earnest to fight the battle of life.

Many of our young Hindu fellow-countrymen come to England to study poultry-farming, agriculture, sericulture, horticulture, fruit-culture; to acquaint themselves with the secrets of leather and other industries; they go to Japan and the United States to learn practical engineering, chemistry and other departments of art and the applied sciences. This awakening among them to the demands of material progress is as admirable as their awakening to political conceptions is extraordinary.

I cannot help viewing with regret, not unmixed with shame, the apathy generally displayed in these directions by Musalman youths. Want of means is often urged as the chief reason that prevents them from engaging in these studies. But surely our rich men whose charitable instincts and interest in the welfare of their people are often roused by the visits to their districts of Lieutenant Governors and other high officials, might devote, fisabil-illah, a small part of their superfluity to found scholarships for promising Mohammedan youths to study, either in India or Europe, the subjects I have indicated, which later in life would be beneficial to them as well as to their country.

In the halcyon days of Islam, our men of wealth founded

colleges and endowed scholarship to win the reward of God; in our times they do so to gain the approval of the Government official. Might we not with advantage go back to the old ideal?

But even without the charitable feeling coming into play to any very large extent, it is possible to devise a system for assisting deserving students by which they would become not only virtually self-supporting, but the means of helping others following in their footsteps. The consideration of this also, as an eminently practical method of solving a difficult problem, I would commend to the Economic Section.

Economic Council

To carry out the programme I have briefly outlined, I suggest you should divide the Committee—I trust you will soon alter its designation and call it a Council—into sections, each charged with special duties and special functions. This will facilitate the accomplishment of the great work you have taken in hand—the political, material and moral regeneration of our people. Otherwise, the task is so stupendous that it will tax the collective energies of the entire League, and even then end in failure.

The divisions or sections that I would suggest would be the following: (1) Economic, (2) Political, (3) Educational, and (4) Sociological.

- (1) The Economic Section would be the most important, as certainly it should prove the most beneficent, if properly organized and carefully and consistently worked. I have already indicated its duties.
- (2) The Political Section's activities are easy to define and can be usefully employed to the advantage of our people if it is conducted on the broad lines already laid down.
- (3) The Educational Section should co-operate with the Economic Section in carrying into effect the improvements in Musalman education in directions which have hitherto been either neglected or considered of minor importance. It can hardly trench on the functions of the Educational Conference, which fulfils a special function, and does not concern itself with economic questions.
 - (4) The functions of the Sociological Section would possess

as much importance as those of Economic Section. It would concern itself with all questions of social and domestic legislation which affect the well-being of the people, especially the Musalmans, and social problems of moment and interest to our people. Many such subjects have arisen in Musalman society within recent years; but in the absence of a communal organization to deal with them more or less effectively, they have been, for the time being, put aside to the detriment of the community.

The preservation of Mohammedan institutions would naturally pertain to this Section.

In this connection, I would observe that so far as I can judge there can be no possible objection to persons holding offices under Government from serving on any of these Sections, save perhaps the Political, which after all is only political in name, as the great object of our organization is to co-operate with the administration, not merely in the maintenance of law and order, but also in the promotion of the general interests of the country. But whatever technical difficulty may be felt in paid officials of Government serving on the Political Section, there cannot, it seems to me, be any objection to their associating themselves with the other Sections, the main object of which is economic progress and development.

Working thus by sections or compartments, it would be possible to obtain far more satisfactory results and certainly a larger measure of success than would be the case if the carrying out of the programme were entrusted to the General Committee. In my experience, practical work is more effectively and expeditiously accomplished by small bodies of competent and earnest people; it is only when they have arrived at some definite conclusion that it should be submitted for the confirmation of the General Committee. I recommend the adoption of this system not only to the Central League, but also to the provincial branches and cognate organizations. After all, the actual application of the measures we decide to adopt for benefiting our people will rest with the provincial Leagues, and the amount of success we attain will depend on their energy and loyalty of purpose. They are, or at least should be, in touch with the people whom the work we undertake concerns; they are acquainted with their real needs and requirements, with local conditions and circumstances. Where information is wanting,

it would be their duty to obtain it. The provincial Leagues will, therefore, be the genuine and truly effective machinery for putting our programme into operation, and we must rely on them for consistent and continuous efforts in the directions indicated. In fact, without their help it would hardly be possible to do much for the progress of the Musalman community. So far they have given whole-hearted support to the Central League; and I trust the solidarity that has existed so long will always be maintained. It is essential, however, that there should be absolute loyalty on all sides and the subordination of individual interests to the commonweal. It is only thus that we can hope to regain for our people the position in the internal economy of India to which they are legitimately entitled by their numbers and the virility of their character.

Gentlemen, I fear I have trespassed too long on your indulgence. But the subject is of such incalculable importance that I have felt it my duty to lay my suggestions before you at some length.

May I venture to make one more remark? Pray do not think any task too great or any work too unworthy for your energies or activities.

Please remember the words of one of our own sages:

Himmat daraaz daar ke pashe Khuda-o-khalq Bashad bagadre himmate toe etbare toe

Keep your aims high, so that before God and his creatures May your work be estimated according to your aims.

In conclusion, I invoke the Almighty's blessings on you and your endeavours.

Mian Mohammad Shafi then announced, amid cheers, that His Highness the Aga Khan had been pleased to make a permanent annual grant of Rs. 4,000 to the All-India Muslim League, besides Rs. 1,600 to the London Branch. This brought the morning's sitting of the League to a close.

SECOND SITTING

In the afternoon sitting, owing to the temporary absence of

the President, Mr. Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy was called to the Chair. He moved the first resolution from the Chair which ran as follows:

SCHEME OF REFORMS

The All-India Muslim League places on record its deep sense of appreciation of the just and beneficial Scheme of Reform embodied in the India Councils Act and the regulations framed thereunder, and offers, on behalf of Indian Musalmans, its grateful thanks to the Government, and assures it of their cordial co-operation with the Government and other communities for the success of the scheme.

Mian Mohammad Shafi, Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhry, Mr. Yakub Hasan, Syed Wazeer Hasan and Mr. Masudul Hasan spoke in support of the propositions; and it was unanimously carried amidst great enthusiasm.

Mian Mohammad Shafi, in supporting the resolution, said that they were all united in thinking—and he was perfectly certain that non-Muslims would agree with him—that the best interests of the country would be served by raising the political condition of the Mohammedans to the level of that of the other communities. It was essential that the Mohammedans. who suffer owing to numerical disadvantages, should be accorded preferential treatment by means of separate representation, and this could not be obtained unless they had absolute and unqualified control of their elections. To his mind, without separate representation, the most perfect system of representative Government would be unworkable and injudicious in a country that suffered from the unhappy internal conditions that prevailed in India. He had not a shadow of doubt that participation in the mixed electorate was harmful to the best interests of our community.

He added: "I do not know how you feel, but when I contemplate the reality of the disappointment which has been felt by the Mohammedans of the Punjab at the denial to them of the right of separate representation on the Provincial Council, in spite of the fact that the need for it was more insistent here than elsewhere, I look upon such a policy as not only in the

highest degree prejudicial to Punjabi Musalmans, but also as exceedingly impolitic. But keeping in view the definite recognition of the position of the Indian Musalmans by the Government, as an integral but distinct part of the Indian population, I must thank and cordially thank the Liberal Minister and the large-hearted Viceroy for redeeming, to a large extent, the pledges given to the Indian Musalmans."

Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhri, supporting the resolution, said: "The resolution just moved has my hearty support and sympathy. It is meet and proper that we should accord our heartfelt thanks to the Government and to the statesmen who helped to launch the Reform Scheme granting us enlarged Councils in India. I shall, however, with your permission, take the opportunity of laying before you the apparent defects in the Scheme as affecting the Provincial Councils of Eastern Bengal and Assam. Four seats by separate election have been allotted to Mohammedans out of 23 non-official seats. The chances are decidedly poor and quite uncertain for the Mohammedans to expect seats through mixed election. The reason is apparent. The voters to the local boards and municipalities are either tenants of Hindu zamindars or indebted to them for loans, and as such they cannot but vote for the Hindus. So there will be practically four Mohammedans to eleven Hindus, when four seats are given away to Europeans and four by nomination. This meagre distribution of seats is not in full accord with the pledges given by Lord Morley and Minto as far as our Province is concerned. The number allotted to us is by no means any approach to the numerical proportion, not to speak of the political importance of the community. The Mohammedans there are about two-thirds of the population, and yet only four seats have been allotted to them by separate election, as I do not count upon the chance seats through mixed electorates. We fail to get numerical proportion of seats which ought to be at least ten instead of four. Over and above this, our claim on seats for political importance and defence of the Empire has been ignored. In the last election, it may be argued, the Mohammedans obtained two seats through electorates; but that was due to apathy and indifference on the part of Hindus. Notwithstanding their securing two seats each by mixed electorates, two seats by nomination and four by separate electorates, the Mohammedans were in a minority of eight

to ten with the Hindus. As soon as the agitation ceases, things will be very different, and it will be difficult for Mohammedans to obtain seats through mixed electorates. To satisfy our just claims, a due and adequate number of seats should have been allotted not only in proportion to numerical strength, but even in excess of that number, owing to the political importance of the community and its contribution to the defence of the Empire. Our leaders in India and England have done enough to bring these facts to the notice of the authorities, and we should now accept the Scheme and co-operate with the Government."

Mr. Yakub Hasan observed that the Government had always been exceedingly solicitous of Mohammedan interests and actuated by the best of motives. The Mohammedan community, on the other hand, had all along reposed immense trust in its justice and beneficence and would continue to do so. The grant of separate representation to the Mohammedans opened a new era in the political life of the country and safeguarded the interests and the rights of the Mohammedan minority. It was clear that if the Mohammedans were a distinct community and had distinct interests, they should be placed in a position to safeguard their interests properly. He agreed with the President in heartily thanking the Government for redeeming the pledges given to the Mohammedans.

Syed Wazeer Hasan, in the course of his speech, remarked that Muslim loyalty was a bulwark for the British Power, and that their political importance was entirely independent of their religion.

Mr. Masoodul-Hasan, in supporting the resolution, said that the claim put forward by the Mohammedans was not a new one, and it had been made clear at every stage of the Reform Scheme that they would be satisfied with nothing less than full separate representation. He was glad to observe that the claims of the Mohammedans to special treatment on account of their political importance and numerical strength had been practically admitted by the just and benign Government, for which the community was deeply grateful to it. The only thing that made him unhappy was the diappointment felt by the Punjabi Musalmans at the denial to them of the right of separate representation on the Provincial Council. It was the earnest prayer of the Muslim community that the Government be pleased to bear

this point in mind on the occasion of the next election, and that steps be taken to remove an obvious anomaly.

The way in which the proposition was discussed showed that the members were animated by a sense of deep loyalty in acknowledging their gratitude to the Government for the recognition of their rightful position in the Empire. They refuted the assertion, made in some quarters, that they had received special favours from the Government, arguing that once the principle of communal representation was accepted, their representation must be adequate and effective. As Syed Ameer Ali had said, any attempt, open or covert, to curtail or modify the concessions that had been made to the Mohammedans or to alter any settled fact would be deeply resented by the community.

ANARCHIST MOVEMENT

The second resolution was also moved by Mr. Fazulbhoy, and ran as follows:

The All-India Muslim League expresses on behalf of the Indian Musalmans its great abhorrence of the anarchist movement manifesting itself in some parts of India, emphatically condemns the dastardly outrages recently committed at Ahmedabad, Nasik and Calcutta, and appeals to all patriotic citizens to actively co-operate with the authorities in up-rooting the evil from the soil of India.

In support of the proposition, Mr. Fazulbhoy, made a thoughtful and forcible speech condemning anarchy and appealing to Hindus and Mohammedans to discover the root of the evil and to eradicate it for the safety and honour of the country. He emphatically asserted that the time had arrived when they should adopt immediate and effective measures to correct the manners and morals of Indian youth. He said:

I am sure that the resolution which I have the pleasure of moving is in full accord with the duties, sentiments and interests of not only the members of the League and the Musalman community, but of the entire loyal population of India who look with horror and abhorrence on the dastardly deeds of a few anarchists, who have disgraced the whole of the Indian nation in

the eyes of our rulers and the civilized world. It is impossible to speak with restraint about a criminal like Dhingra, especially when the ghastly picture of the foul and atrocious crime rises before our mental vision. I was an unhappy and painful spectator of the murder of my late lamented friend, Sir W. Curzon-Wyllie, who was in every sense of the word, a true friend of the Indians. His unfailing courtesy, his obliging nature, his genuine anxiety for the welfare of Indians, and the magnanimity of his heart were such as to make it impossible for us to believe that he could have even a single deadly enemy. Is it not a cruel irony of fate that he should have been murdered by a man whom he was trying to save from the path of ruin? As my memory goes back to the awful scene of the tragedy, I feel a thrill of pain and horror passing through my mind.

Until a few weeks back, the Bombay Presidency, which has given a lead in true Swadeshi enterprise to other provinces in India, was singularly free from any conspiracy, but the wicked plot to take the life of the Viceroy, whose only fault, if it can be termed a fault, lies in his instinctive liberality and innate kindness for Indians, revealed for the first time the unpleasant fact that the Presidency whose destiny is now being wisely shaped by one of the greatest and most sympathetic of pro-consuls that ever came out to India (Sir George Clarke) contained the poisonous germs of treason and anarchy. Through a divine and miraculous intercession, the plot miscarried and Lord and Lady Minto escaped unhurt. But within a few days of the shocking revelation of the attempted diabolic outrage, an officer who ought to have been respected and revered by Indians was treacherously murdered by a Brahman fanatic. I refer to the murder of the late Mr. A.M.T. Jackson, who was held in great esteem and popularity by all classes of the Indian communities on account of his deep sympathy with them. What is the moral that we learn from these senseless crimes? To those who give even superficial thought to the question, if must be obvious that the morals and manners of Indian youth require to be corrected, and to this end the attention of every patriot and wellwisher of the country ought to be directed. Instead of futile laments over the irrecoverable past, we should, while there is yet time, set to work to find out the root of the mischief, which, in my opinion, lies in dangling, before raw and

immature youth, an unattainable, impracticable, undesirable and mischievous ideal, namely, the attainment of Swarai by driving out Englishmen from India. We all know that even if it were possible for Englishmen to retire from India to-day, it would mean terrible disaster to the country. The loss would be entirely ours. It would be a signal for the revival of bitter religious feud and racial strife and the consequent insecurity and plunder of life and property. It will undo the progress of years. Under the present circumstances, Swaraj for India is impossible, and if the guiding hand of the British were to be removed tomorrow, it would be absurd to think that without their aid, we could ever attain to that condition which is necessary for the attainment of Swaraj. For our intellectual and political progress and our economic and social salvation, British supremacy in India is a sine qua non. Our political enfranchisement must depend upon our fitness. If we are incapable of governing ourselves, and putting our own house in order, how can we expect to govern a country like India, with its teeming population, whose amazing diversity of religion, language, traditions and social custom are simply perplexing? Our duty is then clear. It demands that if we are to share, the administration of the country with the rulers, we must also share the responsibilities attached to good citizenship.

We ought to co-operate with Government in putting down lawlessness, sedition and anarchy; and to do so, we should go to the root of the evil. It is undeniable that the cause of mischief is the seditious press and the repulsive secret teachings of the new school of thought which has captured the imagination of unimaginative students. The minds of youth are poisoned by exhibition of religious fanaticism; and under the cover of religion, doctrines of racial rancour and racial hatred are instilled into the minds of pliant tools. To counteract the evil influences of the mischief-makers, we must in the first place insist on sound discipline and moral and religious training for our boys, so as to make them God-fearing and law-abiding citizens. We must establish, in conjunction with our Hindu compatriots, societies to combat revolutionary forces. This is not a time when we can sit silent. Nor is this the time for talk—that has passed long since this is the pre-eminently the time for action. Our patriotism, which has hitherto taken the form of passive obedience to the

Crown and respect for the laws and institutions of the country, should be turned to active account in counteracting the evil influence of subtle enemies of Government, and therefore, of the country and society. Our common enemies aim at the overthrow of the powerful and benevolent British rule which makes it possible for us to work out our own social and economic salvation without any interference, and which allows us to hold political meetings for asserting our rightful and legitimate share in the administration of the country, as is witnessed by to-day's proceedings in this imperial city, where the greatest of the great Mughal emperors, Akbar, ruled in truly Oriental magnificence with civilized notions four centuries ago; and where seven years ago, our beloved king Edward, who will be known in history as Edward the Peace-maker, was proclaimed Emperor with great pomp and splendour. Our patriotism should take the form of teaching the people to take pride in being members of the mightiest Empire that the world has ever seen. Our dominating desire should be to strengthen British rule, and to inspire the people with feelings of affection for our rulers by deeds and words.

Our learned London President has suggested the formation of a political section or council of the League. May I suggest, in order usefully to employ the activities of the members of that section, that they should, in consultation with Government and such of the Hindu gentlemen as may be willing to co-operate with us, devise ways and means to combat the reactionary forces (Sic) and to promote loyalty among the masses. By loyalty I mean a desire, a longing on our part to co-operate with Government in promoting the ordered development of the country and thereby securing peace and prosperity for the people. As our trusted leader, His Highness the Aga Khan, has forcibly pointed out, our loyalty should not be the basis for favours to come; not a cold abstract sentiment like the love of beauty and arts, but a constant, fixed and passionate desire for serving the country and helping the authorities in putting down, with a strong hand, the forces that tend to submerge the Government lawfully established in the land. We must send out earnest, influential missionaries whose mission should be to spread the Divine Faith like calming oil on stormy seas.

As regards the moral teaching which is necessary to develop the spiritual side, the parents of pupils must help the teachers

by seeing that the home atmosphere is untainted. There are people who say that they do not know in what way the Government want their help in putting down the anarchical cult. If, instead of laborious efforts in ransacking the Scriptures to prove—after foul murders have been perpetrated—that political crimes are not permitted, we adopt practical measures such as I have suggested, then I think, we will be very near to the solution of the complicated question. Teach our boys to stick to the ethical code of morality, teach them that loyalty is not only a passive virtue but an active force to help the Government in the promotion of beneficial measures for the good of the country. We should energetically strive to strengthen the hold of Indians on the affections of Englishmen, and we should persistently and effectively oppose the wild attacks of ultra-radicals, both English and Indian, and interpret to the masses the benevolent intentions of the Government. This is all the more necessary because to the average Englishman, the Indian Empire, with all its glories and perplexities, is a sealed book. We must remember that one of the objects with which the League was formed was that, in view of the orgies of disloyalty actively displayed in some quarters, the dignified policy of silent loyalty was no longer a paying game and that it was necessary to adopt some means of the most practical kind, which would act as an effective check on the sowing of wild seeds in this country.

In conclusion, I appeal to the sense of duty of both Hindus and Mohammedans to take effective action in co-operation with Government to stamp out anarchy by destroying the source that induce evil thoughts and dangerous acts; to co-operate with the Government in ameliorating the condition of the masses and promoting measures of general welfare by the dissemination of agricultural, scientific, technical, industrial, commercial and literary education, and other measures of public utility sketched by His Highness the Aga Khan in the eloquent peroration of his forceful and noble speech.

Sahebzada Aftab Ahmed Khan seconded the resolution in an impassioned speech. He emphasized the necessity of explaining to misguided youths the suicidal folly of their position, so as to purge them of their dangerous ideas. At the same time he advised European officers in India to treat educated Indians with greater courtesy, as it was the educated section of the population that could best appreciate blessings of British rule.

The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

SHARE IN PUBLIC SERVICES

The third resolution, proposed by Mian Mohammad Shafi and seconded and supported by Mr. Yakub Hasan and Moulvi Mahbub Alum, ran as follows:

In view of the necessity and importance, under the existing circumstances of India, of each community being fully represented in the administration, the All-India Muslim League considers the number of Mohammedans employed in the various branches of the public service absolutely inadequate, and strongly urges the Government to give the Mohammedan community that share in the public service to which it is entitled by reason of its importance and numerical strength.

Mian Mohammad Shafi, in proposing the resolution, said that the number of Mohammedans employed in the various branches of the public service was absolutely inadequate. It was not the desire of the Mohammedans that undue favour should be shown to them or that the standard of qualification for public service be lowered in their favour to the prejudice of the efficiency of the administration; but it was essential for the proper adjustment of the political balance that, so long as qualified Mohammedans were available for the public service, they should be given their due proportion according to their importance and population.

Mr. Yakub Hasan, in seconding the resolution, said that it was not necessary for him to say much. It was an open secret that the Mohammedan share in the public service was far from satisfactory. Their interests had suffered partly by their silence and partly by the machinations of their neighbours, who were always harping upon the incompetence of the Mohammedan community. The Mohammedans should therefore unanimously demand that their share in the public service should be adequate, and should try to remove wrong notions about them.

Moulvi Mahbub Alum remarked that the number of Mohammedans in the judicial service of the Province of Agra was

very inadequate, and that unless prompt and effective measures were taken to make up the defficiency, the Mohammedans would just about disappear from the higher grades of this most important branch of Government service. The allegation that the Mohammedans were not fit for public service was highly prejudicial to their best interests. A community which has a glorious past and which kept alive the flame of 'civilization for many centuries could not be said to be wanting in administrative ability. The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously. The meeting was then adjourned to Sunday morning.

THIRD SITTING

Deliberations were continued on Sunday, January 30, with unabated interest. It was a busy day and much useful work was done, the sittings continuing till late in the evening, and the intense enthusiasm evinced on the previous day was maintained throughout.

In response to the eloquent appeal of the President, the Prince of Arcot, and His Highness the Aga Khan, handsome donations were promised to the League. Annual subscriptions amounting to Rs. 1,600 were promised, and a lump sum of Rs. 8,600 was also subscribed.

The discussion embraced a wide range of practical subjects, which were presented in such an able, clear and temperate manner as to disarm criticism. Throughout the proceedings, a hopeful note of self-reliance and progress was sounded, and though the avowed object of the League is political, questions were discussed on non-sectarian lines, and the subject of education was brought to the forefront as a means of promoting our political and civic aspirations. Great stress was laid on the moral and religious training of Muslim youth, so as to make them ideal and law-abiding citizens of the Empire, imbued with sentiments of loyalty to the British Crown. The inadvisability of confining the activities of the League to the political sphere alone was recognized by different speakers, who also urged the League to work out the social, industrial and economic emancipation of the Musalmans by appointing an influential standing committee or separate sections of the League. It was suggested that the League could be divided into four sections: economic, political, educational and sociological. The functions of each section were defined and means suggested to obtain satisfactory results from each. Continued stress was laid on the necessity of cordial and harmonious relations with the Hindu and other communities to promote the welfare of the country as a whole. These lofty ideals, however, did not prevent the meeting from, emphatically but respectfully, pointing out minor defects in the Reforms or demanding an effective and adequate representation of the Muslim community on municipalities and district boards.

Adoption of New Rules and Regulations

At the outset, the meeting adopted the revised rules and regulations of the League and appointed Office-bearers. At the annual session of the All-India Muslim League held at Amritsar, a Sub-Committee was appointed to revise the rules of the League, but for various reasons no meeting could be held. This Sub-Committee met at Delhi under the Presidency of His Highness the Aga Khan on January 27 and 28, and after due deliberation proposed certain amendments in the rules, the changes proposed generally being verbal alterations. However, some of the amendments were of great importance, affecting as they did the constitution of the League and its procedure. The number of Vice-Presidents was raised from six to twenty, and of the members from 400 to 800. The amendments were read out in the meeting and unanimously adopted.

Election of Office-Bearers

The resolution electing His Highness the Aga Khan as President of the League for the next two years was passed by acclamation, and His Highness, in thanking the community for the honour done to him, promised to work for Muslim interests with singleness of purpose and whole-hearted devotion. On the motion of His Highness the Aga Khan, sixteen Vice-Presidents, one Honorary Secretary, and two joint Secretaries were unanimously elected.

VICE-PRESIDENTS

1.	Nawab Mushtaq Husain Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur	United Provinces	
2.	Raja Sir Mohammad Tasadduk Rasul		
	Khan, K.C.S.I.	,,	91
3.	Nawab Muhammad Abdul Majeed	,,	,,
4.	Nawab Fateh Ali Khan Kazilbash, C.I.E.	Punjab	
5.	Nawab Zulfikar Ali Khan of Maler Kotla	,,	
6.	Khan Bahadur Mian Mohammad Shafi,		
	Bar-at-Law	,,	
7.	Prince Jehandar Mirza of Murshedabad	Bengal	
8.	Syed Ali Imam, Bar-at-Law	**	
9.	Nawab Khwaja Sir Salimullah Khan		
	Bahadur, K.C.S.I., of Dacca	Eastern	Bengal
10.	Khan Bahadur Syed Nawab Ali		
	Chaudhri	19	"
11.	Sir Ghulam Mohammad Ali, Khan		
	Bahadur, K.C.I.E., Prince of Arcot	Madras	
12.	Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim, Kt. Bart.	Bombay	,
13.	Mr. Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy Ebrahim	,,	
14.	Khan Bahadur H.M. Malak		Provin-
		ces and	Berar
15.	Mr. Abdul Aziz, Bar-at-Law	N.W. F	rontier
	•	Provinc	е
16.	Mr. Abdul Karim Abdus Shakoor Jamal	Burma	

HONORARY SECRETARY

Moulvi Mohammad Aziz Mirza, late Judicial, Police and General Secretary, Hyderabad, Daccan.

JOINT SECRETARIES

Haji Mohammad Musa Khan Aligarh
Moulvi Syed Wazeer Hasan, B.A., LL.B. Lucknow

The Honorary Secretary, Moulvi Mohammad Aziz Mirza, in thanking the community for the honour done to him, said:

I do not know how to thank you sufficiently for the honour you

have done me by electing me Honorary Secretary to the All-India Muslim League. This is a mark of confidence which I highly value, but I can assure you that after a strenuous life spent in the service of my august master, His Highness the Nizam, I had settled down permanently at Aligarh to spend the evening (cries of 'No', 'No' and 'Say noon')—all right, I shall say the afternoon of my life—in the peaceful atmosphere of educational activity; but you have thought fit to throw me again into the troubled waters of politics with a mandate that I am once again to leave my hearth and home and make Lucknow my headquarters for the next two years. Whatever my personal feelings in the matter may be, and however diffident I may be of my humble capabilities, when I am assured of your goodwill, it will be my earnest endeavour to prove myself worthy of your confidence and try to do my duties without fear or favour and to the best of my abilities. With the beneficent help of a kind providence and the never failing assistance of my revered chief, His Highness the Aga Khan, and the cordial and loval co-operation of my friends and colleagues, both on the Central and Provincial Councils, I hope, if not to achieve, at least to deserve success.

Haji Mohammad Musa Khan, the Joint Secretary, in thanking the community for the honour done to him, briefly remarked that there was nothing that he prized so dearly as the service of the community.

The other Joint Secretary, Syed Wazeer Hasan, warmly thanked the community for the honour done to him, and said that he delighted to do anything for the good of the community, and that he never allowed himself to lose sight of the fact that the mission of the League was one of goodwill and amity. On the removal of the headquarters of the League to Lucknow, he said, he would loyally co-operate with his chief, the Honorary Secretary, for the well-being of the community.

COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION

Moulvi Rafi-ud-din Ahmed then moved the following resolution:

The All-India Muslim League is of opinion that the principle of communal representation should be extended to all self-governing bodies, as promised by H.E. the Viceroy, in his reply to the All-India Mohammedan Deputation, and respectfully points out to Government that the adequate and effective representation of the Mohammedans is a necessary corollary of its application in the Imperial and Provincial Councils, and essential to the successful working of the Reform Scheme.

In a few well-chosen but emphatic words, Moulvi Rafi-uddin spoke of the urgent necessity of introducing the principle of communal representation in municipalities local, and district boards on an effective and adequate scale. The proposition was seconded by Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhri who said:

I have much pleasure in seconding the resolution so ably moved just now. Our request all along had been for separate Mohammedan representation by Mohammedan electorates from the lowest rungs of the ladder, but this concession has only been allowed in the elections to the Imperial and Provincial Councils. The application of this principle of communal representation follows as a natural sequence to be applied to the municipal, local and district boards after the concession made to us in connection with the Reform Scheme.

The Royal Commission on Decentralization, in dealing with election to rural boards, makes the following recommendation: "As regards the methods of election, we are in entire accord with the Resolution of 1882, as to the impossibility of laying down any general system and the desirability of trying different schemes in different localities, including methods of proportional representation and election by castes, occupations etc. Having regard to the very different circumstances of different areas, we think it essential that the system adopted in each should be such as to provide for the due representation of different communities, creeds and interests. It has always been recognized that it is the duty of the British administration to protect the interests of the various communities in India, and to secure impartial treatment to all." In the matter of municipal councils, they say: "As regards methods of election, we need only repeat what we have said in the case of sub-district boards, that members should be chosen in ways best suited to local

conditions, as laid down in the Government of India Resolution of May 1882. The main object should be to secure an effective representation of the various classes in each town, and the selection of fit representatives." It adds that "There have been complaints that electorates are small, and that the elections do not excite interest or bring forward good men. A class system of representation, which exists in Rangoon and in some of the Punjab municipalities, seems to have worked fairly satisfactorily."

The municipalities and local boards are initial steps in the ladder of self-government; and if separate Mohammedan representation is extended to these, there is not the least doubt that the principle of Mohammedan representation shall be greatly strengthened in elections to the Legislative Councils in India. To advance the plea that this is not feasible for want of qualified men in the community, is, to say the least, an error of judgement. The necessary conditions of membership for municipal and rural boards being found in Mohammedans, why should they not have their own representatives on these boards? If the principle of denominational representation has been found to work successfully in the Punjab, there is no reason why the same principle applied to other places in India should not work equally well. Let there be a test, and we shall see how it works. A community which is making rapid strides in education and is growing in number and influence, and which is reckoned as constituting about one-fifth of the entire population of India. deserves adequate representation on municipal and rural boards. What functions, pray, do these boards discharge? Do they not deal with such important matters as the construction and maintenance of municipal buildings, roads and communications, preservation of health, educational needs and, at times, the religious concerns of the localities? And why should not therefore the Mohammedan ratepayers have adequate representation on these boards and participate in local self-government? Reason and our requirements demand that they ought to.

In most municipal areas, however, the Mohammedans may not stand a good comparison with the other classes in point of number and taxes, but the political importance of the community and their local needs should be taken into consideration... in the rural areas of these boards the Mohammedans in our

Province (Eastern Bengal) are in an overwhelming majority, but they are represented by small minorities in comparison with the other classes. You may ask why? The voters are very much influenced by Hindu zamindars, mahajans and pleaders, to whom the Mohammedans are greatly indebted and who accordingly exercise control over the elections to these boards. The voters in some cases are also influenced by Mohammedans zamindars who are themselves under the influence of money-lenders. To simplify matters and to remove all such stumbling-blocks, the number of Mohammedans entitled to seats on these boards, to be filled by separate Mohammedan electorates, outght to be fixed.

His Excellency Lord Minto has already indicated his approval on this point in his reply to the Deputation that waited on him at Simla in 1906. I quote the portion of his reply for information: "The pith of your address, as I understand it, is a claim that, in any system of representation, whether it affect a municipality, a district board or a Legislative Council, in which it is proposed to introduce or increase an electoral organization, the Mohammedan community should be represented as a community. I agree with you, gentlemen, that the initial rungs in the ladder of self-government ought to be found in the municipal and district boards, and that it is in that direction that we must look for the gradual political education of the people."

The provincial governments should therefore in every case fix the number of Mohammedans entitled to seats on municipal and rural boards not only in proportion to their numerical strength, but in relation to their political importance, status in society, local influence and special requirements, and elect them by separate Mohammedan electorates.

The resolution was supported by Sheikh Abdul Qadir, who remarked that it was high time for the benign Government to protect the interests of the Indian Musalmans and to secure impartial treatment for them. They were until recently a negligible quantity in the administration of the country, but modifying circumstances showed that they deserved more than what was done for them as law-abiding citizens. Their interests could never be safeguarded unless the principle of separate representation were introduced in municipal and district boards.

Syed Raza Ali, supported by Mr. Mohammad Yakub, pro-

posed an amendment to the effect that for the words 'speedy extension of the principle", the words "adequate and efficient representation of the Mohammedans" should be substituted. The amendment was accepted, and the resolution, as amended, was unanimously passed.

URDU

The League then passed the following resolution on Urdu as a vernacular of India:

The All-India Muslim League deplores the attempts made in certain quarters to damage the importance of Urdu as the principal vernacular of India and regards the preservation and advancement of the Urdu language and literature as essential for the general progress of the country.

Sheikh Abdul Qadir, in proposing the resolution, said that no single factor had contributed more largely to the formation of national sentiments and ideas than the Urdu language. It is, he said, the only language which is understood by the educated classes all over India. The search after another common language looks like the digging of a well for a drinking water when the Ganga flows by and laves your feet. The need for Urdu has been felt on a wide scale by travellers and merchants in every part of India. Any practical step to be taken in the direction of supplying the need must depend upon the number of persons who feel the need. No one would think of learning a language if he could make no use of it except once in a pilgrimage, twice or thrice in a life-time, or to write a few letters in a year to a merchant in a neighbouring province. Urdu is in evidence not only in Government offices, in markets where articles of foreign manufacture are sold, but is also depended upon for inter-provincial business transactions. Even foreign languages are daily borrowing the names of commercial stuffs from Urdu. In a way Urdu is widening the circle of its operation and enriching foreign literature. Even in pure and faultless Hindi, Urdu words are largely adopted because no other vernacular can take the place of Urdu as the common language of India. Very often words used in newspapers and books written in pure Hindi are so out of the way that they are intelligible only to those who know Sanskrit. Urdu is the only language which is read and spoken both by Hindus and Musalmans. Any attempt to damage its importance, he said in conclusion, would be suicidal to the best interests of the progress of India.

Kazi Kabiruddin, in seconding the resolution, said that the study of Urdu should be encouraged and all attempts to damage its utility should be boldly faced. It was highly desirable, on both patriotic and sentimental grounds, to encourage Urdu, the common medium of communication, by holding periodical conferences and creating competent bodies to look after its progress.

The resolution was also supported by Moulvi Mahbub Alum, who remarked that Urdu was the *lingua franca* of India, a fact which its most determined opponents could not deny. He observed that the development of the Muslim community was synonymous with the preservation of the Urdu language.

The resolution was put to the vote and adopted unanimously. The meeting was then adjourned to the afternoon.

FOURTH SITTING

This sitting was taken up with the consideration of the remaining resolutions, most of the speeches being delivered in Urdu.

INDIANS IN TRANSVAAL

Mr. Mohammad Ali moved the following resolution:

The All-India Muslim League expresses its admiration of the intense patriotism, courage and self-sacrifice of the Indians in the Transvaal, who are heroically suffering persecution in the interests of our country, and appeals to all Indian Musalmans to help the cause of Indians in Colonies with funds and in other ways. The League most respectfully but earnestly urges upon Government the necessity of prohibiting the recruitment of indentured Indian labour for the South African Union as a measure of retaliation, so long as any South African Colony adheres to the present selfish policy and denies to His Majesty's Indian subjects their just rights as citizens of the Empire. The League considers it its

bounden duty to draw the attention of the Imperial and Indian Governments towards the grave consequences of Colonial legislation based on racial distinctions humiliating to His Majesty's Indian subjects, and earnestly appeals to the Imperial Government to assert its undoubted supremacy in matters of Imperial importance to obliterate racial distinctions in political life within the Empire.

Mr. Mohammad Ali, in moving the resolution, forcefully pleaded the cause of Indians in South Africa and strongly condemned the policy of the Colonial Government based on racial distinction which was humiliating to His Majesty's Indian subjects. In a fluent and eloquent speech, he pointed out that as anarchy could not be wiped out by resolutions, so the grievances of Indians in the Transvaal could not be removed by pious wishes. Government must take active measures to help the loyal Indian community and persuade the Colonial Government to put an end to the insulting treatment to which Indians were being subjected by the Boers. If all other means failed, he urged upon the Government the necessity of prohibiting indentured Indian labour of South African Colonies as a mild measure of retaliation.

In feeling and pathetic terms, Mr. Zahur Ahmed seconded the proposition, expressing the admiration of the League for the patriotism and self-sacrifice of the Indians in Transvaal and appealing to Musalmans to help their compatriots in the Colony.

Mr. Henry S.S. Polak, delegate of the South African Indians, also delivered a stirring and illuminating address. He stated that originally a deputation of four, including a Mohammedan, a Hindu and a Parsi, was arranged for India, but three of them were arrested and imprisoned to preclude the possibility of their coming out to India. In condemning the Anti-Asiatic legislation on racial and religious lines, he explained how it was directed against the Mohammedan but not the Christian or other subjects of Turkey. He also referred to the prohibition of the entry of highly cultured Indians, including barristers, doctors, graduates and priests. Three thousand imprisonments with hard labour had taken place in three years, and the lot of these prisoners was exceedingly hard. They had submitted to all sufferings

and indignities rather than take upon themselves the humiliation of being treated as coolies. There were two ways to help them practically: first by stopping indentured labour, and secondly by contributing funds.

The resolution was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously.

A donation of Rs. 1,000 to the Transvaal Indians was announced from the League Funds. A further sum of nearly Rs. 2,000 was promised by members of the League for the same purpose, Khan Bahadur Sheikh Ghulam Sadiq and Khan Bahadur Adamjee Mamoonji each contributing Rs. 500.

MOHAMMEDAN ENDOWMENTS

Mr. Mohammad Yakub moved the following resolution:

The All-India Muslim League respectfully urges on the Government the necessity of instituting a thorough enquiry into and the preparation and the publication of the statement of the number, general purposes and manner of administration of Mohammedan endowments designed mainly for the public benefit.

Khan Bahadur Ghulam Sadiq seconded the resolution, which was put to the vote and adopted unanimously.

MOHAMMEDAN UNIVERSITY

The next resolution recognizing the necessity of immediate efforts for raising the Aligarh College to the status of a teaching university was moved by Mr. Aftab Ahmed Khan. The resolution ran as follows:

The All-India Muslim League strongly reiterates the necessity of a separate Mohammedan university of their own for the Indian Musalmans and emphasizes the desirability and advantages of raising the M.A.O. College, Aligarh, to the status of such a university.

In moving the resolution, Mr. Aftab Ahmed Khan remarked that in spite of the occasional ups and downs to which every individual in every society is subject, he was happy to be able

to say that we had every reason to congratulate ourselves on the increasing interest that is being shown in the foundation of Mohammedan university, which we all have at heart, and for which we have been labouring strenuously for so many years. We had special reason for congratulating ourselves on this occasion, for there had been, through God's blessings, a national awakening in all directions, such as we never had the good fortune of experiencing before. The whole of the Muslim community is now swayed by a new spirit, he said, and it seems as if it has pleased the Great Dispenser of all events to bring the community at last out of the gloom in which it has remained plunged for centuries. It is a hopeful sign of the times that even our political organization has taken up the question of raising the Aligarh College to the status of a Mohammedan university. From all that is happening around us, we may well take heart and count on a great future awaiting our community. He added that it rests with us, individually and as a body, to lead our cause to a glorious victory. As we will, so shall we win. We are advancing a step further every year. We find our movement gaining fresh vitality and breaking down, one after another, the barriers in its way. He felt convinced that our work of nationbuilding had commenced in right earnest, and he had no doubt , that the scheme of raising the Aligarh College to the status of a Mohammedan university would soon become an accomplished fact, if every individual of the community tried his level best to achieve the desired end by raising funds for it.

Kazi Kabiruddin, in seconding the resolution, remarked that as an increased interest was being taken in the question of a suitable Mohammedan university by aristocrats, lawyers, merchants and other influencial men of the community, there should not be the shadow of a doubt that in the near future the necessary funds would be raised. Our destinies, he said, lie in our own hands. It is when we are able to rouse ourselves to the sublime consciousness of our privileges as a race that contributed to the progress and civilization of the world that we shall know how to work out our destinies as a nation. What must be common to us all is a vigorous and well-sustained action by every member of each section, not simply by preaching what ought to be done, but also by his individual example in carrying

out the great object which we all have in view.

The resolution was carried amid prolonged cheers.

LAW OF WAKF

Moulvi Mohammad Aziz Mirza then took up the next resolution; which ran as follows:

In view of the disintegration of Mohammedan families consequent on the misinterpretation of the Mohammedan Law of family Wakf and the disastrous effects resulting therefrom to the well-being of the community, it is necessary for the Legislature to enact some measure to allow the Musalman Law of Wakf to take its course in favour of the land-owner's family and his descendants, with any safeguards that may be considered expedient against the perpetration of fraud.

In moving the resolution he spoke as follows:

In an assembly of learned Mohammedans which includes so many legal, luminaries, I think it is hardly necessary for me to say anything to commend this resolution to you. It is a fact patent to you all that owing to various causes, while other communities have been, under the aegis of the British rule, making progress in material prosperity, the Mohammedans have been going from bad to worse; and great and well-to-do families, which at one time commanded the respect of the community, have fallen on evil days and their patrimony has passed out of their hands. No doubt this is to some extent due to the general demoralization of our community and the degeneration of its individual members; but whatever may be the causes, it has been. helped on by the singular misinterpretation of our laws by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. While the Mohammedan Law of inheritance secures the equal distribution of wealth, our divine law-giver, with wonderful prescience, by providing for the making of endowments in favour of one's own family and descendants, secured us from the dangers of infinite subdivisions. If I were to dwell upon the legal sanction of this enactment in favour of family endowments and quote to you the sayings and the practice of our divine law-giver and the dicta of our jurisconsults, perhaps I should take days to discuss the whole subject before you, but I shall only refer you to the writings of the Right Hon'ble Syed Ameer Ali, Khan Bahadur Moulvi Mohammad Yusuf and Shamsul-Ulema Moulvi Shibli Nomani, who is fortunately present here and will address you presently.

With regard to the decision of their Lordships of the Privy Council, I need only remark that it is based on a misapprehension due to the misinterpretation of the word 'charity' which according to English notions must entail some spirit of self-sacrifice. But according to the provisions of Mohammedan Law, the word 'charity' is used in a much wider sense, and it also includes benefactions in favour of one's own descendants. Our Prophet, by his precept and example, laid down that it was as much a meritorious act to make provisions for one's own family as it was to help the poor and needy; and so long as this is the Mohammedan Law, nobody has the right to say that our Prophet could not have meant what his words signify. The materialistic West may not be able to appreciate the merit of Sawab consequent upon making provision for one's own family, but we of the East prefer spiritual merit to all materialistic considerations. It has been acknowledged by the highest authorities that family endowments are perfectly legal under Mohammedan Law, and that lands are held under it in the purely Mohammedan countries of Egypt, Turkey, Persia and Arabia; but in face of the decision of the Privy Council, it is necessary that an enactment should be passed allowing the Mohammedan Law to take its course.

This question was taken up in a modified form by the late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan when he was appointed a member of the Viceroy's Council and brought forward a bill on the subject; but owing to lack of support from official quarters it fell through. It was afterwards submitted to Government by the Mohammedan Association of Calcutta, but the Government replied that the passing of such a law would be full of mischievous consequences. But this, gentlemen, is a reply which shows that the real question at issue has not been seriously taken into consideration. We never asked the Government to enact a law which did not form part of our personal law; what we felt was that when the application of our own law in personal matters has been secured to us and it has been proved by our law-books

and the practice of purely Mohammedan countries that the doctrine of Wakf-alal-Aulad is a part and parcel of our law, there is no reason why it should not be allowed to take its course simply because the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council a body commanding our highest respect but, like everything human, liable to commit mistakes—has laid down that the doctrine of family Wakf forms no part of Mohammedan Law. We do not ask Government for anything that does not form part of our law; our only request is to remove the hinderances that have been, so arbitrarily, placed in its way and to allow it to take its proper and unimpeded course. We have no objection to Government devising such checks as may be deemed necessary to prevent the perpetration of fraud, but there is no reason why a decision which sets such an important provision of our law at naught should be allowed to stand in the face of our undoubted statutory right.

The resolution was seconded by Mr. Zahur Ahmed and carried nem con.

THE AGA KHAN

The President then moved the following resolution from the Chair which was unanimously adopted:

The All-India Muslim League places on record its appreciation of the great services rendered to the Mohammedan cause by His Highness the Aga Khan, G.C.I.E., and assures him of its continued confidence and trust in his statesmanship and in his leadership of the Musalmans of India.

SYED AMEER ALI

Moulvi Mohammad Aziz Mirza proposed the following resolution, which was seconded by Mian Mohammad Shafi and adopted with enthusiasm:

The All-India Muslim League, representing the Indian Musalmans, offers its grateful thanks to the Right Hon'ble Syed Ameer Ali, C.I.E., for his valuable services rendered in defence of Mohammedan rights in connection with the Reform Scheme,

expresses its continued confidence in his leadership and congratulates him on his elevation to His Majesty's Privy Council.

Moulvi Mohammad Aziz Mirza, in moving the resolution, briefly referred to the distinguished services so unselfishly rendered to the Muslim cause by Syed Ameer Ali, specially in connection with the new Reforms. Had he not come to their help at the critical moment, the Muslim community would have been nowhere. He also gave expression to the universal satisfaction which the elevation of Syed Ameer Ali to the Privy Council had given rise to, not only in India but also in almost all the other Mohammedan countries.

Moulvi Rafi-ud-din Ahmed thanked the President of the Reception Committee, Hazikulmulk Hakim Mohammad Ajmal Khan, for the excellent arrangements which he made for the Session, which passed off very smoothly and reflected great credit on, amongst others, Mr. Abdul Aziz, Secretary of the Reception Committee, and his assistants, who with a band of volunteers left nothing undone to make the meeting a success.

His Highness the Aga Khan, in thanking the Reception Committee that the present Session constituted an important meeting of the League, for which Imperial Delhi was the fittest place, and the Reception Committee had treated them in a right imperial way.

This was followed by concluding remarks from the Chair.

The President of the Session, the Prince of Arcot, remarked that never were the highest qualities of Muslim manhood more needed than now: courage, patience and endurance, unflinching allegiance to law and order coupled with an undying faith in the destinies of the Indian Musalmans and their country. The Delhi Session of the League, he observed, unmistakably infused a new life into Muslims and guided their energies into useful and patriotic channels. Let them take advantage of the situation and reap an abundant harvest. He warmly thanked the audience, members of the Reception Committee and of the League, and the delegates for the trouble they took, and prayed to the Most High that many more years of healthy, vigorous and happy life be vouchsafed to the founders of the League, so as to enable them to continue the noble work of national regeneration.

The Honorary Secretary then announced that the headquarters of the All-India Muslim League would be transferred from Aligarh to Lucknow.

Khan Bahadur H.M. Malak invited the next session of the League to the Central Provinces, and the proceedings came to a successful termination with a hearty vote of thanks to the Chair and three cheers for His Imperial Majesty the King Emperor.

FIFTH SITTING

Though the deliberations of the Muslim League officially came to a close on January 30, another meeting of the League was held on Monday at the Sangam Theatre, when Mr. Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy, Vice-President of the League, presided.

Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur informed the audience that originally their meeting was fixed for three days; but to suit the convenence of His Highness the Aga Khan, the whole business was rushed through in two days. However, as some business had been left undone, it was found necessary to hold another meeting.

The President then called upon Haji Mohammad Musa Khan, the Joint Secretary of the League, to present last year's report, which was a review of the work of the various branches of the League that had been mainly responsible for stimulating political activity in the Muslim community.

Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur, the father of the Muslim League, and Mr. Aftab Ahmed Khan delivered speeches on educational problems of the day, and exhorted Musalmans even in their own interests to be loyal to British rule. They appealed to the wealthy members of the community to do their best to raise the Aligarh College to the status of a university.

In closing the proceedings, Mr. Fazulbhoy recounted the blessings of British rule, and eloquently pleaded for active measures to check the subversive tendencies visible in some parts of India and to wipe out the roots of evil and mischief which were created to cause confusion and disorder in the country and to embarass Government. The salvation of India, he said, lay not in political franchise alone, but in the development of industries by the promotion of scientific and technical education. The proceedings of the League testified to the awakening of

Musalmans and a desire for progress and enlightenment on their part. It was a period of transition and the alertness they had shown during the past year was a happy augury for the future.

He wished every success and prosperity to the League; and declared the meeting closed.¹

^{1.} Proceedings of the Third Annual Sessions of the All-India Muslim League held at Delhi. Published by the office of the All-India Muslim League, July 9, 1910.

Chapter 11

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

FOURTH SESSION

Nagpur, December 28 and 30, 1910

FIRST SITTING

The Fourth Session of the All-India Muslim League began on December 28, 1910. According to the original programme. the League Session was to be held immediately after the meetings of the Educational Conference were over, i.e., on December 30 and 31, 1910; but unforeseen circumstances necessitated a change in the dates, and so it was decided to hold the first sitting of the League on December 28, at 9 o'clock, in the Macdonnel Town Hall, instead of the *Pandal*, as originally intended. The Town Hall, in spite of the short time at the disposal of the Reception Committee, was gaily decorated and afforded accommodation for more than a thousand persons; but local enthusiasm ran so high that the Reception Committee were unable to provide seats for all. The Hall was entirely packed and many people had to be content with standing room in the verandahs. One of the galleries was occupied by Muslim ladies and the other by members of the family of Khan Bahadur H.M. Malak and other gentlemen of his sect. On the dais, there were only three gentlemen: H.H. the Aga Khan, Syed Nabiullah, the President-elect, and Khan Bahadur H.M. Malak, Chairman of the Reception Committee. The earnestness and enthusiasm which characterized the deliberations of the League were indeed remarkable. The members of the League mustered strong, although Nagpur is an out-of-the way place and is not in direct railway connection with the great centres of Muslim population. The leaders of the Central Provinces and the Berars and specially the veteran President of the Reception Committee, who had invited the League to hold its Session at Nagpur, will have the satisfaction that the Committee's unstinted and sustained efforts coupled with the enthusiastic co-operation of their coreligionists elsewhere have culminated in unqualified success.

The Muslims of the C.P. have demonstrated beyond doubt that although backward in education, they have in them great potentialities of progress and advancement and would one day take their proper place in the administration of their Province. The magnetic personality of H.H. the Aga Khan was another factor which contributed to the success of the Session. The practical and thorough manner in which the various subjects were discussed in the successive sittings of the League held out hope that Musalmans have once for all thrown away their lethargy, and will henceforward be in the vanguard of Indian progress.

On December 27, 1910, His Highness the Aga Khan, the President of the All-India Muslim League, reached Nagpur and received a cordial welcome both on the station-platform and in the city. He was garlanded and received with shouts of marhaba, and taken through the city in a motor-car, followed by a procession of motors and carriages, a band playing all the time. The route through the city, covering about two miles, was decorated with flowers, foliage, triumphal arches and flags, and he received magnificent ovations at each turn. Even Mohammedan ladies threw flowers from windows and terraces. Among those who received him on the platform were Prince Ghulam Mohammad of the former royal family of Mysore; Syed Shamsul Huda and Nawab Nasirul Momalik Khan Bahadur Mirza Shujaat Ali Beg (Persian Consul-General) from Calcutta; Nawab Syed Mohammad, Mr. Yakub Hasan and Nawab Ghulam Ahmed Khan from Madras; Mr. Fazulbhoy, Moulvi Rafiuddin, Mr. Ibrahim Rahmutollah and Kazi Kabiruddin from Bombay: Raja Naushad Ali Khan, Syed Wazir Hasan, and Syed Zahur Ahmed from the United Provinces; Mr. Abdul Aziz from Peshawar: Khan Saheb Mohammad Azam from Eastern Bengal; Khan Bahadur H.M. Malak, Chairman of the Reception Committee. and the representatives of all the 22 District Muslim Leagues from the Central Provinces and the Berars.

The next day saw the arrival of Syed Nabiullah, the President-designate of the Nagpur Session of the Muslim League. He was also accorded a cordial reception and was garlanded on the platform by representatives of the community and members of the Reception Committee.

When members of the League and visitors had taken their seats, Mr. Nabiullah entered the Town Hall and was received with cheers and conducted to the dais. His Highness the Aga Khan then came after half an hour and was received with loud cheers, every one present in the Hall standing up till he had taken his seat.

The proceedings commenced with the recitation of appropriate verses from the Holy Quran, which were listened to with rapt attention by all present. Khan Bahadur H.M. Malak, the President of the Reception Committee, in welcoming the members of the League on behalf of his Committee, delivered an impressive and instructive address, in which he discussed in detail all the burning questions of the day. He said:

As Chairman of the Reception Committee, it is my proud privilege to welcome you, our esteemed guests, to Nagpur, a city which in many ways presents a strong contrast to Delhi, where you assembled last. This city is not, I admit, classic ground. It does not draw our pulses as Delhi does, so rich in historic associations and so lovely in her desolation; and yet Nagpur is by no means an unfit place for the meeting of the All-India Muslim League; for the life and motion and the many-sided activity, the signs of which are all around you, are typical of the new order of Eastern and Western ideas which, without killing our deep spiritual life—that precious heritage of every Musalman—have inspired us with a sense of social duty incompatible with a life of cloistered seclusion and pale asceticism, and it is the sense of social duty that has brought together from all parts of India a band of self-denying gentlemen representing the intelligence, the culture, the wealth and the public spirit of the country and of the community, fired with the noblest and purest purposes, resolved to do their duty by their country and their community and confident in their destiny. For good or for ill we stand face to face with a new world and must adapt ourselves to the environment. The problems which now meet us cannot be solved by piety and philosophy alone, and under the new conditions which have arisen, political and social action is essential to our progress as loyal and law-abiding citizens of the British Empire. Nagpur, therefore, is, I repeat, not an unfit place for the discussion of the new problems which have arisen.

Indeed, in some wave this city being situated in the centre of India and within easy reach of all the provinces, for which reason it ought to have been the capital of the British Empire in India, is a fitter place than Delhi.

The Committee of which I have the honour to be the Chairman consists of representatives of all sections of the community and of the Province. With short notice at our disposal, and amidst many difficulties not unknown to you, the Reception Committee have spared no pains to make arrangements which we hope will prove satisfactory to you. But we regret we have not been able to accord you a more fitting reception. We, however, feel certain that you will kindly take our will for the deed and overlook any shortcomings in the arrangements made for your comfort and convenience.

The highest dictates of patriotism require that our sympathy should go forth to the help of backward and destitute, and that by sharing what has been given to us with our co-religionists in distress was should conclusively establish our claim to speak for them and to demand their co-operation with us in the struggle for the regeneration of our community. Our claim to their regard and love should be based upon substantial services and not merely on lip-sympathy expressed in paper-resolutions. Our illustrious and distinguished leaders, keeping these points in view, decided to hold the Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League at Nagpur, for which the Musalmans of the Central Provinces and Berars are deeply grateful.

It is, however, impossible to say anything new upon current topics without repeating what has often been better said before. But as the call has to be complied with, without further preface, I shall take you through some important events of the year. Though not first in the order of time, the demise of one of the wisest Sovereigns of the world deserves first mention. The death of His Most Gracious Majesty the King Emperor Edward VII, the world's peacemaker, saddened the hearts of the high and the low and darkened the horizon of the Empire. His Majesty successfully continued the policy of his august mother, who gave

the Indians the splendid charter of their rights and liberties in 1858. It has been truely remarked by non-Muslim observers that the British Crown has no more loyal and devoted subjects than the Musalmans of India; to them the British Sovereign is not a foreign ruler but like their own Emperor, the continuance of whose beneficial sway is essential to the peace and prosperity of India. Their loyal attachment to the new King and his gracious Consort is no less profound than that entertained towards the late Monarch and Queen Alexandra. The sentiments of League in respect to the Imperial bereavement and to the accession of King George V will be formulated by this Nagpur Session of the League. Therefore I need not dwell at length on this topic.

His Excellency Lord Minto, who has been our Viceroy for the last five years, has now left us. But His Lordship's place is among the great Viceroys whose names are remembered with gratitude and affection as benefactors and friends of the communities of India. We may say without the least exaggeration that the situation in India, after the regime of Lord Curzon, called for a statesmen of great gifts of character and sagacity, and that Lord Minto has fully proved himself to be such a statesman. His services to India and the Empire can be fully estimated if we could imagine what would have happened if, in his place, we had had a Viceroy less endowed with the virtues of insight, sympathy and self-effacement. Such a contingency makes one's flesh creep even in the mere contemplation.

His Excellency touched the deepest chords of the hearts of the 70 millions of the most loyal and graceful Musalmans and brightened their vision of the future. We beg to assure him of our sincere gratitude for all that he has done, and our heartfelt prayer is that he may enjoy his rest with that happiness which work well-attempted and conscientiously done brings to such personalities. We desire to offer our sincere and dutiful welcome to His Excellency Lord Hardinge, and beg permission to express the hope that his rule may fulfil the expectations which are given expression.

By associating Indians with the actual governing body of the Empire the Government of India has given proof of its loyal adherence to the Magna Charta of India, and restored, as by a touch, their confidence in the intentions and in the integrity of British rule. The Legislative Councils of India had undergone

expansions before, but there are certain features of their present enlargement which mark a distinct stage in Indian political evolution. The direct recognition of the communal interests of the important Muslim community, the right to move resolutions, to discuss the budget and to put supplementary questions, and the chief of these, the appointment of Indians to the Executive Councils of the Viceroy and of Provincial Governments, has touched the imagination of the people as a signal vindication of the great Charter Act of 1833 and the gracious proclamation of Queen Victoria of 1858, showing clearly that the promise of equal treatment given by the Sovereign and Parliament to the subjects of the Crown in this country is no mere empty phrase of idle boast. It is a solemn obligation undertaken by the rulers with a full sense of responsibility, and meant to be realized in actual practice in the fulness of time.

The Reforms and Separate Representation

The Reforms have thus laid the foundation of constitutional progress for this country and Lords Minto and Morley, whose names will be inseparably associated, have by their inauguration earned our undying gratitude. Lord Minto had the satisfaction of Presiding over the new Council which his sympathy and earnestness enabled him to bring into existence. His Excellency for the first time in the annals of our administrators, had an Indian as his colleague in the Executive Council. The appointment of the Hon'ble Syed Ali Imam, a sound lawyer and a statesman, after the resignation of Mr. Sinha, has created a precedence for representing the communal interests on the Viceroy's Executive Council, which Lord Minto's successors will find it inexpedient to ignore. It is hoped that this precedent will find a permanent place in the Statute-Book. I here take the opportunity of warmly and sincerely congratulating the Hon'ble Syed Ali Imam. The appointment of a Mohammedan member in the Council of the Secretary of State for India, after the resignation of Sved Husain Bilgrami, C.S.I., has confirmed our conviction of the representation of the Mohammedan element on the Secretary of State's Council. I heartily congratulate the Hon'ble Mirza Abas Ali Beg on his appointment to the India Council.

It may not be deemed presumptuous on the part of the

Mohammedans to think that some amongst them might also be found eligible for holding a seat on the Executive Council of the Lieutenant-Governor. I am sure the community which has supplied a member for the Privy Council, Viceroy's Executive Council and Secretary of State's Council, can well afford to supply on demand a member of the Executive Council of the Lieutenant-Governor.

It will not be out of place to bring to the notice of the benign Government the reality of the disappointment which has been felt by the Musalmans of the Punjab at the denial to them of the right of separate representation on the Imperial Council. The Central Provinces and the Berars have an even more serious grievance—that they have no Legislative Council at all. And the legislation of Berar is all by order in Council. The teeming millions of these Provinces deserve the sympathy of those more fortunately situated; and we have no doubt that the Muslim League will adopt a resolution in favour of the establishment of a Legislative Council at Nagpur, and that it will also pass a resolution praying the Government to represent Mohammedans of the Central Provinces and the Berars on the Imperial Councils. Our Chief Commissioner, the Hon'ble Mr. Craddock, has done much to ameliorate the condition of the fallen Musalmans of these Provinces, for which the community in general and the Musalmans of the Provinces in particular are deeply grateful to him and offer their most respectful thanks. But Government, however well-meaning, cannot undertake any comprehensive scheme of national regeneration. This we must be prepared to do ourselves and for ourselves, not by isolated efforts, but by an earnest and effective combination of all the forces of the entire community.

Pre-conditions of National Unity

Now I touch a question which has attracted the attention of the leaders of the two great communities, Hindus and Musalmans. Is it possible to strengthen the solidarity of political unity among these two great communities? There is no doubt that the general tendency of evolution is in the direction of unity, and it is at the same time in the direction of gradually increasing specialization and differentiation. The two processes

run side by side and may be observed not only in the wider evolution of communities and nations, but also in the smaller sphere of individual development. The question arises, therefore -how are we to synthesize and reconcile two such apparent oppositions? In what sense can unification and specialization form part of one homogeneous process? There is in undeveloped nations a kind of dull, inert unity, proportionate to their lack of development; as soon as a nation begins to grow, the tendency is towards specialization through education and other formative influences on the units which compose it. This at first leads to difference, but final unity can only emerge through continuance along this line. Out of increasing differentiation must grow that final unification which comes from perfecting, not from negating, national development. It must be a unity which grows out of a forward movement, not the unity of passive juxtaposition. Only as the individuals of a nation become more highly organized, does the consciousness of an underlying oneness, annulling the bounds of caste, creed and community, begin to emerge. Applying these remarks to India, we observe that they suggest this important truth—that the cause of unity must be differently served, according to the existing state of development of the race or community concerned. In some cases unity may be directly striven for through the transcending to differences. But this is only the case when community in question has already developed the required amount of specialization—in other words, has risen sufficiently high in the scale of civilization and culture. In others the differentiating process has yet to be gone through, and no unity can be hoped for until this has been completed. It is obvious from a superficial glance at India, as it is to-day, that the class which is calling most earnestly for unity is simply that class which has itself become most highly specialized, the educated class, which has reached a position in which the transcending of accidental differences can suggest itself as a matter of practical politics. But it must not be forgotten that the enormous majority of the inhabitants of India are still at the stage where the whole process of differentiation still remains to be begun. They have not yet commenced to climb the scale which can alone lead to that widening consciousness from which the idea of unity can be begotten. The true idea of unity springs from within: that which comes from opposition to a common

antagonist is merely artificial and contains no element of permanent life—with the removal of the antagonistic factor it slips back again into disunion and mutual strife. The unity that possesses the genuine nation-building quality is of an altogether different order. It is an intellectual necessity, and only comes into consciousness when men have reached a point where their every excess of individualism begins to render the manifold problems of their common life insoluble except by a further advance, which can only be in the direction of a negation of differences. This point is being reached rapidly in the West where individualization has reached almost the highest pitch. But to the impartial observer, India—even the greater part of educated India—is still at some distance from it. The process of separation, of specialization of the individual has still to be gone through by the great majority of the people, before we can hope to have a genuinely unified Indian nation.

What we see around us to-day—the division of caste from caste, of race from race, of creed from creed—is, for the present, the natural expression of the evolutionary process. It denotes the struggle for self-expression by the units of the race and has to be continued until at least a large proportion of the Indian people has passed through the process of separate and individual development. This, which alone can render them organic parts of a common and unified nation, is the work of education, of individual initiative and enterprise. Without these necessary preliminaries the true and inner unity cannot be actualized. There is, however, no harm in sinking petty differences of the two great communities for the progress of the country and the cause of good government, and it is the look-out of our distinguished and illustrious leaders to draw a line of demarcation, if possible, between the two great communities of India. We identify ourselves with all that aims at the general advancement of the true interests of the country. We have a rooted conviction that the true interests of the country lie in the maintenance of cordial relations among the Indian communities, and that the true political ideal is one that aims at peaceful progress of such a national character as subserves the protection and development of the interests of all denominations. At the same time, it is our firm conviction that, on the genuine co-operation with the British Government, depends our future progress and

the development of a further social and political life. We are convinced that the plant of the political rights of a subject race thrives best in the soil of loyalty. In our relations with Government, therefore, we cannot afford to permit malice to cross our path, warp our judgement and create disaffection. We have given practical proof of our loyalty, and it is our bounden duty, before we ask for recognition of any of our rights, as honest citizens, to realize the responsibility and to give a solemn account of our utterances to ourselves. We should never let ourselves be tempted to express frivolous opinions on serious matters or make ourselves ridiculous by allowing mere love of notoriety usurp the solemn functions of patriotism and loyalty.

Separate Representation in Local Self-Government

Now referring to the question of the separate representation of the Musalmans on municipal and district boards, I have only to say that short of it, our doom will be more or less sealed and all the privileges of the extension of local self-government will be a sealed book to the Musalmans. The question of our proper representation on municipal and district boards has assumed grave importance, and the adoption of the recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission will further enhance the value and status of all local bodies. I am strongly in favour of provision being made for the separate representation of Musalmans to an extent which will enable them to be adequately represented on these bodies, regard being had to their numerical proportion, their influence and their position in each district, province, and in the country at large.

Urdu—The Lingua Franca of India

The other point which engages the serious attention of the Muslim community is the question of Urdu versus Hindi and Punjabi. There cannot be a shadow of doubt that Urdu is the lingua franca of India. Often a Hindi rendering of an Urdu word is so transparently outlandish that it is intelligible only to those who know the original Urdu. When the Mohammedans were the rulers of India, Urdu came to stay in India permanently and became the mother-tongue of the Indians. Even in the language

of business and of culture. Urdu words are adopted because no Hindi equivalents have been supplied and made ready to hand. Community of language is universally admitted to be a powerful factor in securing the unity of a people, and Urdu, which is already spoken by the Indians and understood in all parts of this vast continent, is pre-eminently fitted to serve this purpose. Urdu has done incalculable good to Government. The tone of the Urdu Press, in the recent storm and stress, has been most loyal and respectful. The sphere of the influence of Urdu is extending gradually, in spite of the efforts, in certain quarters, to check the advance. Even in such distant parts of the Empire as Madras, Nepal, and the dark corners of Assam, people whose mother tongue is Tamil, Telugu, and Bengali are increasingly adopting Urdu for all practical purposes, and are founding schools in which Urdu forms the medium of instruction. A language which possesses such inherent capacity and virtues deserves the solid support of the community and the country.

Indians in Transvaal

I now pass on to the urgent question of the Indians in Transvaal. No one would have forgotten the speech of Mr. Polak and the other stirring speeches at the Delhi Session of the All-India Muslim League, and the ready response evoked from delegates and visitors alike since the resolutions were adopted in the Viceroy's Council and the Government of India passed a Bill taking power to prohibit Indian emigration to the colonies should necessity arise thereof. A wave of feeling has passed over the country in connection with this matter, such men as His Lordship the Bishop of Madras, their Highnesses the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Maharaja of Mysore contributing to the fund in aid of the Indians deported from the Transvaal. There now seems to be some hope of a settlement of the issues between the colonial Government and the Indian settlers; but no one can be sure of the ultimate end of the struggle, and the Muslim League has to give attention to it.

'Unrest' in India

I will now make a few general observations on the 'unrest'

in India. It cannot be denied that there is discontent throughout the country, in varying degrees. This is mainly due to turbulent spirits, especially among the younger generation, who
sick with disappointment and with shattered faith, have spurned the co-operation of their leaders and openly advocate the
establishment of an absolutely free and independent form of national government in India. A few adults have also been carried
away by the grandeur of the ideal of absolute autonomy without
consideration of the long, weary and essential steps that will
have to be taken. As free and full a local self-government as
can be had, is, I hold, as noble and inspiring an ideal as can be
thought of, in the conditions of the country, to stimulate political activity and weld the inhabitants of India into a nation
worthy of the traditions of the past and fitted to play their part
in the economy of the world.

I can conceive of nothing more certain to retard, nay, to stay progress of the country altogether than what is being done by some who place absolute autonomy as the ideal to be striven for before young and undeveloped minds, whose capacity for mature judgment is not so sound as their imagination is powerful, and work upon their sentiments and lead them to form habits of thought and action subversive of the best interests of the country.

The Government of India has been compelled, owing to the growing discontent, to enact repressive laws to restore lawfulness and peace in the country. Now, as all experience shows, secret crime invariably dogs the footsteps of coercion; that which has happened in every other country happened in India. I rejoice to find that the year under review has less ghastly assassinations to account for than the previous years. The voices of the leaders of the two communities of India have been practically unanimous in condemning the anarchical crimes which have been committed in some parts of India. We deplore these crimes as being against the instincts and traditions of the Indians. We execrate the misguided youth who indulge in them, as they have brought on a gentle, law-abiding and humane people the reproach of being violent, wicked and cowardly. We sympathize with the efforts that are being made to root out the evil, and we rejoice to find that the evil tendencies are gradually and imperceptibly receiving a wholesome check. We

condemn from the bottom of our hearts all seditious movements, and we condemn anarchism most, because it is opposed to the laws of God as well as of man. I am convinced that with the reforms in the administration the sedition will wear itself out. We must also remember that though the Government has been armed with some new weapons, they have been rarely used. In fairness to Government we should, however, remember that in the present state of the country a measure of this kind is necessary.

Turning from this sad picture, I am most happy to say that the general feeling of all classes of His Majesty's subjects throughout India towards the British Government is one of deep gratitude for the many blessings conferred on India, the most important of which are security of life and property, liberal education, medical and famine relief, sanitation and facilities of communication. The movement of human progress is hard to follow. Often we seem to lose sight of it altogether. It is not like the march of a regiment along the highway, it is like the advance of a crowd, making for some point which only a few know how to find. Look at them from a height and you see that each individual in the crowd has a path of his own. One keeps straight on, another is describing a circle, which brings him back to his starting point in due time; another has turned into the wrong road and is calling the rest to follow him. Even those who hold the steadiest course are often turned back or aside by unexpected obstacles. It is difficult, therefore, to map out the path of progress either retrospectively or prospectively with perfect certainty. We should, however, remember with gratitude the debt we owe to Government. Our just Government in general and the Government of this Province in particular are ever ready to look into our grievances and to help us in all our legitimate aspirations. We have given unmistakable proof of our loyalty. We disdain all spurious loyalty. We do not wear our loyalty on our sleeves, for our loyalty is above all suspicion. To doubt our loyalty is to doubt our sanity.

Advice for Students

I have also a word of warning and counsel for the students, whom I hope my voice will reach. The best hopes for the future

of the community are based on them. Their earnestness is an asset for us, which if turned to account, will materially add to the progress of the community. It is from their midst that the Province, in time to come, hopes to supply her share of zealous workers in the cause of good government. Our students, it has to be said to their credit, with a foresight and precision which are not the usual accomplishments of youth, have pointed out the path of duty to us and have kept themselves, during the recent storm and stress, within reasonable bounds. The principles of fair play and mutual accommodation and of respect for the rights of others have been their guide in their present career. Let each one of them carry into his fuller life the lessons that he has striven to learn now. The students must engrave it on the tablet of their heart that they are loyal first and anything else afterwards. They must not allow themselves to be weaned from that loyalty which is due from them all to the Crown. The maintenance of its dignity should be their first and primal consideration. The time is not far distant when their present cares will be exchanged for those of the sterner realities of life. They will then be face to face with social problems and political difficulties. My advice to them now is this that they must keep away from politics, and they must be guided by the sober guidance of their teachers and superiors of sound judgment.

Lessons of the History of Nations

I now desire, with your kind indulgence, to add a word on the lessons that seem to me to arise from the experience of different nations—lessons which are pertinent to our community at this juncture.

Turning to ancient Egypt, once the centre of the most advanced civilization of the time, we discover that vast resources, agricultural and mineral, are not alone sufficient to produce a cultured and permanent civilization.

Egypt in ancient times had abundant resources, but failing to note the value of human life, failing to conserve the interests of the millions of the working masses, she sank from the pinnacle of power and culture into political servitude and academic decay. The nation that despises its humblest and most backward class, that provides for them no opportunity to rise in the

social scale and in self-esteem, is building its house upon the sands of time. The wealth of the nation is the quality of its manhood.

Greece fell from her eminence, not from any failure of philosophical or aesthetic or political insight; in these directions she has been the chief source of inspiration for the whole Western world. Pericles, Plato and Aristotle are still household names in the West. Athens faded away like a fragrant memory because she failed to look to the economic bases of her prosperity. Had she taken pains to utilize her splendid maritime location for the development of commerce and industry, had she confided her commercial affairs to her freedom instead of her slaves, had she applied the sagacity of her statesmen to the formation of a sound fiscal policy, the story of Athens might have had a different denouncement. But she wasted her mineral resources, and expanded large sums in the erection of great temples of art and learning. Far be it from me to suggest any criticism against a civilization which has been the fountainhead of all subsequent growth in the culture of the West. I would simply point out that without a permanent and stable economic policy, no civilization, however enlightened, can long endure. This is the message of an ancient Greece to our community and country.

Paramount Importance of Socio-Economic Development

Be careful of large expenditures, either individually or collectively, which are unproductive. Forget your caste prejudices in the common effort to uplift the fortunes of India. Be free men, economically, socially and intellectually, and no power under Heaven can keep you in the position in which you are now. No permanently sound and stable development can occur unless we take pains to educate the masses of our people to a sense of their paramount importance and dignity in the social structure. I conceive it to be the prime duty of the enlightened and well-to-do amongst us to rouse, to stimulate and to educate the backward members of the community. Let our people, as rapidly as possible, be educated in the principles of economics, and let special pains be taken for the development of an honest and intelligent class who will be content to organize and manage our industries without sapping their life by

demanding exorbitant profits.

The genius for craftsmanship is among our people, as is evidenced by the ingenuity and skill of our artisan class: let the sons of Syeds, Moulvis and Alims learn to use tools in their boyhood; let every graduate who feels a call towards mechanical work, turn to that pursuit in life instead of hankering after salaried posts, and I am convinced the national genius will prove and assert itself in industries and inventions as well as in literature and thought. I need not dwell before such an audience as this upon the advantages of the capitalistic organization of industries, with its economy of production and its facility of distribution. In the scientific application of capital we must learn every thing from the nations of the West. I am firmly convinced that we need to devote large sums to the founding of chairs of economics in our national colleges, like Aligarh, and to the training of our young men in the subtle problems of finance.

Educational Needs and Development

Educational needs and educational methods have gone on changing with the passage of time. Once a man who could string together a few clever rhymes thereby found favour at Indian courts or with Indian noblemen. Persian and Arabic penmanship was another passport to emolument, and hundreds, sometimes thousands of rupees were paid for superior samples of the art. When the Mughals ruled India, both Hindus and Muslims took great pains to acquire an elegant Persian style, and some even went os far as to learn Turkish. Those who sought to be reckon ed learned went to the centres of Arabic learning and spent years in the acquisition of theology, grammar, logics, physics and metaphysics at our schools. Now, however, a complete change has come over the spirit of dream. The art of the rhymester and the caligraphist has ceased to be remunerative. The physics of Aristotle and Avicenna is antiquated, the Al-Magest of Tusi is useless, the algebra of Khayyam has lost its value, the chemistry of Jabir is mere jugglery. The metaphysics of Averroes has ceased to be studied and the Platonism of Farabi is of little account. If any scholar harks back to these studies, he does so out of mere learned curiosity or with reference to the study of the

evolution of human thought. The truth of matter is that we the Musalmans of this Province, in particular, have been asleep for centuries while others have been making increasing progress. We have been stationary while the earth has been moving beneath our feet. The seed of decay and degeneration was sown the day we made up our minds to rest, as it were, on our oars. Content with our achievements in the past, we ceased to thirst for fresh knowledge or engage in fresh research. It seems, however, that, rather late in the day, the Musalmans of this Province have commenced to realize what is wrong with them, and the meeting here to-day may be accepted as a living sign or symbol of this awakening. They have begun to see that it is perhaps a good thing for them not only to revive their own old learning and virtues, but even largely to share in the progress which their co-religionists of advanced provinces have been making during their long slumber. The position of the Musalmans of the Central Provinces and the Berars in the public service and in the local bodies, such as municipal and district boards is most humiliating. It is time for them to shake off their lethargic mood, to smooth all artificial angularities and to elevate themselves. They must appraise action more than talk and ever be ready to translate their words into deeds.

I cannot believe that the intellectual power of the Musalmans of this province is exhausted, nor can I believe that they are no longer capable of adding to the sum of human knowledge. If they lay hold of their work with both hands, and do it with all their might, shall they not succeed? Are they the one exception to the general law, and is failure alone engraved on the tablets of their destiny? Are they of all people in the world foredoomed to strive in vain? I do not believe it. I believe in the efficacy of earnest single-hearted endeavour, and I believe in the efficacy of endeavour without reference to fruition. Only courage, capacity and manhood are wanted to carry on the struggle; and provided they bring these with them, they never need despair.

We, the Musalmans, have an intense and justifiable pride in the contribution of our sages of bygone days to the philosophic, the literary and the artistic wealth of the world. It should be our chief pride, our supreme duty, our highest glory to regain the virtues and the intellectual supremacy of our ancient days. I should have also liked to say something on the separation of judicial and executive functions, Wakf, Wakf-alal-Aulad, primary education, the Mohammedan University, but I feel I cannot detain you much longer.

I cannot conclude without offering our most sincere and grateful thanks to our illustrious and distinguished leader His Highness the Aga Khan, G.C.I.E. Towards your Highness our hearts are too full of gratitude to enable us to give vent to our sentiments. Your Highness has infused a new life into the people and guided their energies into useful and patriotic channels. Firm in conviction and patient in action, your Highness has held aloft the banner of Muslim progress, amidst thickening clouds and overwhelming storm. We are justly proud of your Highness's highest statesmanship and pray to the Most High that many more years of healthy, vigorous and happy life be vouchsafed to you, so as to enable your Highness to continue the noble work of our national regeneration.

I shall be guilty of dereliction of duty if I omitted to proclaim what I believe is at this moment uppermost in the minds of the Musalmans of the Central Provinces and Berar. The Musalmans of the whole Province are deeply grateful to Moulvi Mohammad Aziz Mirza, Honorary Secretary, All-India Muslim League, for organizing a Provincial Muslim League in this Province. His profound knowledge of English and of our classics, his mature views, his enlightened patriotism—his character being a compromise between the old and the new—mark him out as a leader supremely capable of guiding the destiny of the Central League. His talk on Muslim politics, written both in English and Urdu, proves to what an extent he has grasped the political situation of the country.

We are still more grateful to him for lending the services of his very able and trustworthy assistant, Mr. Mohammad Yusuf Khan, who by working under the immediate guidance and instructions of Moulvi Aziz Mirza and by his own tact and experience, born of his long connection with the Muslim League and political movements, succeeded in establishing District Muslim Leagues in all the twenty two districts of the Central Provinces and Berar. He proceeded from centre to centre, interviewed the leading men in the districts, ventilated the grievances, called meetings, popularized the views of the Muslim League, and left

not a single district as an exception. Through his efforts this Province has a complete organization. During his stay of five months in this Province, he wrote many articles concerning the condition of the Musalmans and suggested many ways for ameliorating their fallen condition. In recognition of his valuable services, the members of the District Leagues presented him, as a memento, a complete silver tea-set and a gold ring. On behalf of the members of the Provincial and District Muslim Leagues, I take this opportunity to tender their sincere thanks to Moulvi Sahib and Mr. Mohammad Yusuf Khan once more.

Under the Constitution, the power of electing the President of the Session of the League is, you know, vested in the Council of the Central League, which has unanimously elected Syed Nabiullah, Bar-at-Law, as President of the Nagpur Session. His high literal and legal attainments, connection with a patriotic family, and independence of character are all well known to you. I need hardly remind you that his efficiency as President depends more upon your unstinted and cordial support than upon his attainments and virtues.

It remains for me now only to thank you once more for the honour which is conferred upon me. Believe me, I am not using merely an idle phrase when I say that I am proud, very proud, of the distinction. I am proud also of my good fortune in being privileged to welcome you to Nagpur. This year will be a memorable year in the history of the Province.

The members of the Reception Committee and my humble self most cordially thank you, our esteemed guests, for the trouble and inconvenience which you have had to undergo.

Nawab Ghulam Ahmed Khan then rose to propose the election of Syed Nabiullah as President of the Session. He said:

The privilege has been assigned to me of proposing for your acceptance, a President for the Fourth Annual Session of League.

The Council of the League has nominated a gentleman to this honour who has not only received, from a long line of distinguished ancestors, the cumulative heritage of eastern culture, but has also acquired from a European university the distinction of being a scholar and a gentleman. Indeed, as in the case of the Hon'ble Syed Ali Imam, the able President of the Amritsar Session, the Right Hon'ble Syed Ameer Ali, our revered

leader in England, and His Highness the Aga Khan, the fountainhead of all our inspiration and activity, it may be said that the East and the West have blended in Syed Nabiullah to the best advantage.

In his learned profession, there are but few in our community who are his seniors; whilst in point of national service, he has had the unique good fortune, from the very beginning of his life, of being under associations which are quite ample to secure the confidence of the community. Though born amidst conservative traditions, Syed Nabiullah had the inestimable privilege of being one of the first students of the Aligarh College, where he received his training at the hands of no less a person than Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, and had opportunities of being profoundly influenced by his aims and ideals. To this, perhaps, should be traced the enthusiasm and interest with which he threw himself into our educational and political activities. In the Urdu-Nagari agitation and in the conception of the All-India Muslim League, Mr. Nabiullah, as is well known, bore a leading part; and since its formation, has worked on its behalf actively though silently. Your Highness and gentlemen, you will agree with me that it is but right and proper that a gentleman of Mr. Nabiullah's attainments should be given the honour that is his due. I have great pleasure in proposing him for the presidentship of this Session.

Mr. Asghar Husain seconded the motion, saying that no better and more estimable man could have been found to guide the deliberations of the League.

Syed Nabiullah then took the Chair amidst cheers and opened the Fourth Sessions of the Muslim League with the following address.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF SYED NABIULLAH

Your Highness and gentlemen, I thank you from the bottom of my heart for the great honour you have conferred upon me by electing me as your President, and for the warmth and cordiality of your splendid reception of my humble self. When my name was, unexpectedly, first proposed for the high office a few weeks ago by some gentlemen, I tried my best to dissuade them; because, keenly alive to my own deficiencies, I felt that someone

far more capable than I can pretend to be should be chosen to guide our deliberations in the initial stages of our political awakening and increasing activity. But the Council of the Muslim League would not hear of any arguments, excuses, objections or entreaties; and so it has come to pass that I am here to-day in obedience to its nomination, which you have now been pleased formally to confirm by your choice. It is indeed a transcendent honour to be called by the united voice of the representatives of a great nation to preside over their deliberations. I beg to express the hope that in this onerous and responsible office I shall be favoured with your kind indulgence and support.

And now let us inwardly address a short, humble prayer to Almighty God to banish all thoughts of self from our hearts; to endow us with grace, wisdom and moderation; to guide us to the right path which leads to the greatest good; and to bless our labours.

Before proceeding further, it is our melancholy duty to express our profound grief at the demise of King Emperor Edward VII, who, since we last met, suddenly and quite unexpectedly passed away after a brief illness. His death was so sudden that it produced something like consternation throughout the Empire, especially in view of the unsatisfactory state of European politics, the abmitious designs of Germany, and the long threatened constitutional struggle between the House of Lords and the House of Commons which had just come to a head. It evoked an outburst of genuine sorrow throughout the civilized world, in which, owing to his conspicuously beneficent personality, he had come to be regarded as a sort of international institution. By his unique tact, foresight, judgement, skill in managing men, and considerate regard for the interests of others, he had won notable, though unofficial, triumphs on the stricken fields of European diplomacy, where he was an easy first. His pacific tendencies and the friendly agreements and conventions which he inspired and helped to promote with various Powers contributed in no small degree to the maintenance of peace throughout the world. As the son of our beloved Queen Empress Victoria, his dear memory will always be cherished in India as the gracious Sovereign during whose all too-brief reign a beneficent scheme of constitutional reforms was initiated and

promulgated.

We are very happy to think that the generous policy towards India first initiated by Her Late Majesty Queen Victoria, publicity announced to the Princes and People of India by her famous Proclamation of November 1858 and confirmed and acted on by her son, King Emperor Edward VII, is to be continued by her grandson, our Sovereign, King George V. We all have a vivid recollection of His Majesty's famous speech at the Guildhall after his return from India five years ago, in which he expressed the opinion that a little more sympathy should be infused into the administration of this country by England thus putting his finger, with the unerring instinct of a born statesman, on the weak spot of British Indian administration. Within the last few weeks, we have heard with feelings of the liveliest delight, that His Imperial Majesty hopes to be able to come out to India with his Consort in about a year's time, to hold a Coronation Durbar at the Imperial City of Delhi. This happy and unique event would indeed be a red-letter day in the annals of the British connection with India; and it would go a long way in strengthening and cementing the bonds which unite this country to His Majesty's Throne and person. We may be permitted to indulge the hope that His Imperial Majesty may be pleased to signalize his visit by some momentous mark of Imperial favour that shall vividly impress the imagination of the teeming, toiling millions of India with the beneficence of British rule; and enshrine his illustrious memory in the grateful recollections of a devoted people; and evoke and keep alive such an enthusiastic outburst of heartfelt and abiding loyalty as to extinguish for ever all prospective manifestations of sedition and disloyalty; while we on our part, in order to commemorate His Imperial Majesty's Coronation on Indian soil, should initiate and carry through some beneficent project of far-reaching public utility. In the meantime, we all sincerely wish His Majesty and his gracious Consort a long, prosperous and glorious reign, attended with all happiness in the world.

Now that Lord Minto has laid down the reins of office after five years of most arduous and trying work, we desire to pay him our tribute of warm admiration and gratitude for all that he has done for our country and community. You are all aware that he did not succeed to a bed of roses and that very soon

after assuming office he found himself confronted with stupendous difficulties of unexampled complexity. You all know with what unflinching courage, patience, judgment and imperturable temper he faced the situation. Owing to circumstances over which he had no control, His Excellency was obliged to curtail dearly cherished popular rights, to wit, the liberty of the press, the right of free speech, of combination, of public trial and the right of public meeting; but the sober sense of all right-thinking men, recognizing the urgency and danger of the situation, was scarcely, if at all, offended. The country remained practically unmoved. Had any inferior man attempted to undertake or enact a quarter of the reactionary and harsh measures which Lord Minto had the misfortune—under the stress of stern necessity—to adopt, the country would probably have been stirred to its depths and, perhaps, set ablaze. The moral of it, of course, is that it is not an evil thing by itself which so much offends as the manner of doing it. Lord Minto's genial urbanity and charm of manner, has soldierly straightforwardness and transparent honesty and sincerity of purpose were important factors in the successful governance of an Eastern people.

The Reform Scheme

Whenever the genesis of the recent Reform Scheme—whether it was inspired from England by Lord Morley (as assumed by The Times of London) or first suggested by Lord Minto himself, as he was repeatedly emphasized—there can be no doubt that on looking round him soon after his arrival in the country. Lord Minto found the prevailing Indian atmosphere to be surcharged with electricity; and, reading aright the signs of the times, he set about devising suitable means to meet the situation, which in the meantime had grown from bad to worse. But nothing daunted and undeterred by bombs, assassinations, conspiracies and outrages (which would have given pause to a less strong man), Lord Minto, while combating and repressing sedition and violent crime with a strong hand, did not deviate a hair's breadth from his appointed goal and pursued the even tenor of his way. We know the result. The Reforms have introduced salutary constitutional changes in the administration of India. By giving the representatives—both elected and nominated—of important interests, and especially of influential minorities, an effective voice in the administration of the country, they have powerfully contributed to the appearement of legitimate aspirations engendered and fostered by English education. Coupled with the appointment of Indian members to the Imperial and Provincial Executive Councils, and increased facilities for debate, they have also gone a long way towards redeeming the pledges of the late Queen Empress Victoria contained in her gracious Proclamation of 1858, which has been rightly described as the great charter of our rights and privileges.

Lord Minto's generous, statesmanlike and sympathetic attitude towards the great Mohammedan community probably averted a crisis; for signs were not wanting to show that the young bloods of the community were growing restive and straining at the leash. Had they succeeded in getting out of hand, it would have brought great discredit upon the Mohammedans. We Mohammedans, therefore, have special reason to be extremely grateful to him for his practical recognition of our hardships and claims, and for his well-meant efforts to afford us equal opportunities with others, to equalize conditions as far as in him lay, and to make life more tolerable to us Mohammedans. No proconsul since the stirring days of Lord Ripon of imperishable memory has deserved better of this country and of its people than Lord Minto; and it is extremely gratifying and refreshing to think that his honoured name excites equal enthusiasm among all classes of His Majesty's subjects in India.

Lord Minto's Chief, Lord Morley, has also recently resigned office after five years of most anxious and strenuous work. His strength of character, clearness and breadth of vision, disciplined intellect, wide knowledge and grasp of principles, combined with human sympathy, enabled him successfully to grapple with a crisis, at once dangerous and imminent, and to tide over a time of storm and stress. Being face to face with a serious situation of unusual obscurity and unknown dimensions, Lord Morley assiduously set himself to the task of gathering information at first hand. In order to understand the elements and bearings of the various problems arising out of the situation with which he had to deal, he had the wisdom to appoint two Indians to his Council and to interview and question all sorts of men with Indian experience, in every grade of life, mostly

non-officials, whom he could get hold of. For this he has been criticized in some quarters. But there can be little doubt that had Lord Morley relied chiefly on official sources of information, and looked at Indian affairs through official glasses only, we should in all probability have been landed in a terrible mess, if not actual disaster. Men who silently control large masses of public opinion in this country seldom approach officials, because they are seldom welcome. Such men, I may add, are not to be found as a rule in the ranks of title-hunters or prosperous landlords.

The New Viceroy, Lord Hardinge

On your behalf I beg respectfully to welcome His Excellency Lord Hardinge of Ponshurst, the august representative of our Gracious Sovereign, who has quietly and without any fuss assumed his high and honourable office within the last few weeks, and to offer our united homage to him. He does not come to us with a flourish of trumpets, pompously announcing his intentions and breathlessly anxious to prescribe the pill of 'efficiency' for every Indian ailment. If 'efficiency' does not aim primarily at securing, as far as possible, the ultimate happiness and contentment of the people, we do not want it. His nomination for the exalted office of Viceroy was hailed with a chorus of approbation from all sides, and as far as I am aware, not a single discordant note was struck. This is a most happy augury for the success of his rule, and for the welfare and continued progress of our country, just emerging from the throes of a violent convulsion. We have heard with immense satisfaction, from his own lips, that he is going to follow and consolidate the wise and liberal policy inaugurated by Lord Minto and Lord Morley. His Excellency, as you are aware, was the trusted companion of our late King Emperor on his European tours, and is a trained diplomat of first-rate ability and a proficient scholar of Persian. Turkish and Russian.

To maintain order and to uphold the law, to watch over the developments of what has been happily styled 'loyal unrest', and to divert it into channels not antagonistic to British rule; to enlarge the functions and responsibilities of local self-government, with special reference to adequate Mohammedan repre-

sentation on municipal and district boards, and to liberate it, as far as possible, from the trammels of official dictation and unnecessary interference; to inaugurate and extend a well-considered scheme of technical, agricultural, scientific, commercial and primary education; to extend and foster indigenous industries; to develop the agricultural and economic resources of the country; to see whether the time has not arrived to extend, in the interests of agricultural improvements and consequent prosperity, the duration of the periodical settlements of land-revenue; to devise suitable measures to lighten the heavy load of agricultural indebtedness which is crushing the life out of the vast bulk of our population; to consider the advisability of spending more money upon the extension of irrigation; to examine the expediency and feasibility of establishing a system of short service for the native Indian army; to retrench public expenditure without sacrificing efficiency—are some of the questions which may well engage Lord Hardinge's attention during his term of office. In the meantime, we sincerely hope and pray that no internal disorder or foreign complication may cast its shadow on His Excellency's regime. I may as well venture to say, on your behalf, that he can always count on our loyal support and co-operation in all measures calculated to advance the material, moral and intellectual well-being of the country.

Mohammedans and Politics

We have often been reproached for keeping aloof from politics till so late in the day as the latter end of 1906. Even if to-day we are politicians it is not so much from choice, I am afraid, as by force of circumstance. I myself think, however, that this long abstention from the active pursuit of politics has debarred us, if from nothing else, at least from the advantages of political training and education so much needed in the changed conditions of the India of to-day. Various causes have contributed to preventing us from joining hands with the Hindus in their political activities, or starting political activities on our own account; as for instance, the great influence of our late revered leader, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, of blessed memory, who enjoined us to avoid, as far as possible, the thorny paths of politics; a disinclination on our part to embarrass the Government

by engaging in political agitation; an instinctive feeling that owing to our widespread deficiency in English education and capacity, we, as a community, should have to play second fiddle in the game of politics; a haunting fear that by descending into the dusty arena of politics and helping to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for others, we should be at once insidiously undermining the authority of Government and unduly promoting the political ascendency-already overpowering-of the great Hindu community; the conviction that the unimpaired supremacy of the British Government is conducive to the welfare, continued progress, peace of mind and happiness of the Mohammedans; the dearth of influential leaders of commanding ability, endowed with the indispensable gift of eloquence, as well as with imagination, energy and enthusiasm; a certain lofty disdain—born of the spiritual teachings of Islam, of fatalism, and the grand traditions of our glorious past, mingled, perhaps, with a fleeting sense of despair that we have been irretrievably outstripped in the race of life—to enter the lists in competition with men over whom we once held sway for the temporal prizes that the fickle goddess of politics has to offer to her votaries; and last, not least (be it confessed to our shame), our invincible apathy and listlessness, an aversion to work and to take trouble, a reluctance to sacrifice our ease and comfort.

The Ferment in the East

But since Sir Syed's advice to us to leave politics alone much water has passed under the bridges, and the slumbering East has been violently stirred by momentous events of deep significance. Japan's political revolution and adoption of Western representative institutions, her marvellous progress in all branches of national life within the last twenty years or so, followed by her astounding victories over Russia—whose imposing power in the Far East was crumpled like match-wood—set all Eastern nations athinking, and gave a tremendous fillip to the demand for representative institutions in countries so widely different in their politics as India, China, Egypt, Persia and Turkey. In our own country many other influences have been silently at worknotably, the elevating effects of Western culture. But the quickening impulse, I believe, came from Japan's overthrow of a

great Western Power, which was thought by the world at large to be absolutely invincible. A galvanic shock of unrest went through the entire East.

Therefore, the wave of unrest which first swept over Bengal after its partition and then, with diminishing force, over the rest of India, followed by the ebullitions of frenzy which broke out in different parts of the country, opened men's eyes to the significant signs of the times, to the serious gravity of the situation, and the militant forces at work. It is not necessary to describe in detail the startling events which followed each other in bewildering succession. Suffice it to say that by great good fortune we had at this critical juncture a soldier-statesman at the head of affairs in this country, and a philosopher-statesman at the helm in England, between whom there was perfect unanimity of sentiment, and who correctly diagnosed the situation. When it became apparent that an enlargement of the Legislative Councils and of their functions, together with other constitutional organic changes, was contemplated by Government, it was felt by some of the leading men in our community that the time had arrived for the Mohammedans to come out into the open, and to claim what was rightfully their due in view of their importance and historical traditions; that they could no longer afford to sulk in their tents, waiting on providence with folded hands and brooding over their departed greatness—unless they wanted to be left out in the cold. This, in brief, led to the formation of the All-India Muslim League in the closing days of 1906; though before that there had been several spasmodic attempts at forming a political association of the Mohammedans to safeguard their interests. We have now, for better or worse, taken the plunge; and whether we swim, float, or sink: it all depends upon ourselves. I can only express the hope that the newborn enthusiasm of my co-religionists will not evaporate, as of yore, with the lapse of time, and that our young men will devote themselves more and more to the study of financial, industrial and economic questions rather than to politics, pure and simple.

Objects of the Muslim League

Besides looking after the interests of our fellow-believers and

promoting loyal feelings towards the British Government, one of the chief objects of our League is to cultivate harmonious relations with other Indian communities, especially with the great sister community of the Hindus. As far as I am aware, no responsible Mohammedan leader has ever entertained any but the most friendly feelings towards the Hindus, especially towards the progressive, enterprising, patriotic, intellectual Bengalis the despair of Aberigh-Mackay, of Stevens, and, aye, of unimaginative Anglo-India. I sometimes think in my dreams that if our rulers could only understand the Bengalis, they would be able to understand not only most of the Asiatic races, but the Irish, the Americans and the Junkers of Germany as well! In spite of recent lamentable incidents, and the infatuation and aberration of certain misguided sections of the population, I believe that the vast majority of the Bengalis are sound at heart and loyal to the core. Like the Mohammedans (though for different reasons), they have everything to lose and nothing to gain, if the English retire from India. And yet the Bengali is often obstreperous, and now and again truculent! What is the reason?

Our great leader, the late lamented Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, in speaking of Hindus and Mohammedans, of the Bengalis, and of the 'Indian nation' has made the following observations, with which, I need scarcely say, we are in cordial agreement:

"Mohammedans and Hindus are the two eyes of India. Injure the one and you injure the other. We should try to become one in heart and soul and act in unison; if united, we can support each other, if not, the effect of one against the other will tend to the destruction and downfall of both.

"I assure you that the Bengalis are the only people in our country whom we can properly be proud of; and it is only due to them that knowledge, liberty and patriotism have progressed in our country. I can truly say that they are really the head and crown of all the communities of Hindustan.

"In the word 'nation' I include both Hindus and Mohammedans, because that is the only meaning which I can attach to it."

Again, His Highness the Aga Khan, our highly honoured leader and President, in the course of his inaugural address at the last session of our League, was very emphatic, in view of the larger interests of our common Motherland, on the

necessity, the supreme necessity, of a cordial understanding between the two great communities of India. Let me quote from his most admirable and statesmanlike speech:

"Now that we have secured it (i.e., a separate electorate) I hope it will result in a permanent political sympathy and a genuine entente cordiale between the members of the two great sister communities.

"Our first and foremost duty is to prove our active loyalty towards our Sovereign...by our endeavours to strengthen the foundation of British rule in India...by uniting the great sister communities through the bonds of sympathy, affection, and a community of interests.

"In the first place, they (i.e., the Muslims) must co-operate, as representative Indian citizens, with other Indians in advancing the well-being of the country.

"I have no hesitation in asserting that unless Hindus and Mohammedans co-operate with each other in general development of the country as a whole, and in all matters affecting their mutual interests, neither will develop to the full for its legitimate aspirations, or give full scope to its possibilities. In order to develop their common economic and other interests, both should remember that one is the elder sister of the other, and that India is their common parent; religious differences should be naturally reduced to the minor position.

"Our loyalty to the Throne must be absolute, and relations with the Hindus and all other Indian communities who share that loyalty must frankly be most cordial. Otherwise our political activities will tend to the undoing of both, and ultimately prove detrimental even to the British Power. The true interests of the Empire can-never lie in a policy of divide and rule."

Our other great leader, the Rt. Hon'ble Syed Ameer Ali, in the encouraging message, replete with sage observations, he was pleased to send us at our last session, is equally emphatic:

"I sincerely trust that the two great communities whom the Reforms mainly affect will decide to work together in harmony and concord for the good of their common country. They have both to live together, to progress together and in evil days to suffer together. National development, even the fulfilment of the dream of self-government, depends on the cooperation of both races in a spirit of amity and concord."

Hindu-Mohammedan Relations

It will thus be seen that the best sense of our community is agreed on the point that, in the vital interests of our country, in other words, of the Government—because I am firmly persuaded that the best interests of the Government are, in the long run, indissolubly bound up, with the best interests of the country—Hindus and Mohammedans should live at peace and cultivate the most friendly relations with one another. They should be prepared for that mutual compromise, the give-andtake, which is the essence of our modern existence and the secret of its success. But I very much regret to say that the good feeling and happy relations which formerly subsisted between the two communities have been, in some parts of the country, considerably attenuated in recent years; and a strain has been put on their friendly intercourse on the old footing. As we all desire to bring about a rapproachement between the two communities I shall be perfectly frank with my Hindu brethren. I am grieved to say that certain events and incidents have happened within recent years which have given offence to the Mohammedans, and caused many searchings of heart among them. At present I will deal with only one such event, namely, the 'worship' of Sivaji. Let it be granted that the world judges men like Sivaji, Robin Hood, Clive, Dalhousie, Napoleon, Bismarck, etc., not by the usual standard of morality applicable to ordinary mortals. But what is the inner meaning of these Sivaji celebrations? Do they not convey a serious warning to all concerned? Do they not suggest the revolt of Hinduism against Islam and. by implication, against foreign domination? The apotheosis of Sivaji gives us a foretaste, as it were, of what the poor Mohammedans have to expect under Hindu hegemony. If, then, our feelings are irritated, is it to be wondered at? I am, however, glad to note that since a certain firebrand has been removed from the scene of his labours, the cult of Sivaji appears to be dying out.

These suggestively aggressive celebrations, however, to which I have just referred, went a long way in steeling our hearts against yielding on the question of separate electorates for Mohammedans which is another painful subject to which I want to refer just for a moment. But even apart from the sinister

significance of the deification of Sivaji. Mohammedans would at all events have insisted on a separate electorate for themselves, to ensure their fair representation on the Legislative Councils. Their dominant feeling, I believe, was that if the Hindus chose to sink their differences, and to close up their ranks, they could, with their formidable majority, defeat every Mohammedan candidate in the field. Even if by chance or good fortune, Mohammedans were returned by what are called 'mixed electorates', it would be at the sacrifice of their independence and freedom of action and judgment. The thought was galling to us that we should be for ever tied to the chariot wheels of Sivaji 'worshippers', and dragged at their heels (sic), always dependent on their goodwill and favour. The prospect of this novel thraldom alarmed us; and we naturally desired emancipation from it. We felt that considering the present backward condition of our community and our former predominant position in the country we should be adequately represented on the Legislative Councils if for nothing else, at least for the benefit of the training and experience they were likely to afford us. Well, the scheme of separate electorates has happily put us in a position effectively to look after our interests; has saved our countenance; preserved our amour propre: averted the danger of increasing bitterness and estrangement of feelings between the two communities. which would have inevitably resulted from the freaks and haphazard chances of 'mixed elections'; and, above all, put us in the proper frame of mind to co-operate cordially with our Hindu brethren for the advancement and glory of our common country. I venture to think that if any educated man of strong common sense, any experienced man with the faculty of correctly applied imagination, were to reflect for a moment, he would be convinced that if mixed electorates alone had the exclusive power of returning members, the consequences would have been disastrous to the best interests of the country. How? By causing an everwidening breach between the two communities, and a permanent and incurable alienation of feeling. Need I point to our recent election experiences? Is it not a fact that in very many instances secret ill-will has been created between Hindu and Hindu, and, for the matter of that, between Mohammedan and Mohammedan? Let us take account of human nature as we find it. Our Hindu friends by their vehement opposition to

separate electorates, I am afraid, have unwittingly narrowly escaped from putting the knife to the throat of our poor, dear Motherland for which they profess, in all sincerity, so much solicitude. The cry of 'unity' being in danger is a spurious cry. We don't want a paper unity, but a genuine union of hearts in the interests of our common country. Let us, therefore, hear no more of the foolish twaddle about the Mohammedans erecting an iron wall of disunion between the Hindus and Mohammedans. And are our Hindu friends not satisfied? Have they not a permanent, standing majority? What more do they want? Why do they grudge us separate, adequate representation? Being secure in their overwhelming majority, it looks as if under the plausible plea of unity they want to lord it over us, to have it all their own way, and to stifle our feeble voice. Is it fair? Can it conduce to peace? Yes, peace, which is our greatest interest. I appeal to the good sense and patriotism of the Hindu leaders, and I have no misgivings as to what their response would be. I honestly and sincerely believe that adequate and independent Mohammedan representation on our Legislative Councils and municipal, local and district boards is absolutely necessary in the present condition of India and of Muslim public feeling, the peace sake, for the uninterrupted progress of our dear country, and in the sacred interests of good-fellowship, if for nothing else.

Barring the question of employment in the public services of the State and the Urdu-Hindi question, there is hardly any question of public importance, as far as I can see, on which the Mohammedans are not in substantial agreement with their Hindu brethren. That being so, I venture to suggest that Hindu and Mohammedan leaders, and especially our Hindu and Mohammedan legislators, should from time to time meet each other in formal conferences, for the purpose of exchanging notes and holding friendly discussions on all questions affecting general well-being of the country. In this way they can be of very great assistance to each other and also to Government. They can render great service to their country by removing misunderstandings, composing differences, and by promoting and diffusing an atmosphere of mutual forbearance, tolerance and goodwill. Altogether, I venture to anticipate the happiest results if this course is followed.

Proposed Conference of Leaders

In this connection, I heartily welcome Sir William Wedderburn's wise proposal, cordially endorsed by our leaders (His Highness the Aga Khan and the Rt. Hon'ble Syed Ameer Ali), to hold a friendly conference, in the course of the next few days, of some of the influential leaders of all communities. I sincerely hope that a satisfactory settlement of all outstanding differences will be reached at the proposed Conference, and a modus vivendi arranged for future co-operation. The most serious feature of the situation, however, is that there appears to be a tendency in some quarters to accentuate these differences. All I can say is—as you must all feel—that so long as these differences remain, our country's cause, which is already suffering, may be irretrievably damaged and all progress arrested. But I have every confidence that the leaders on both sides with a single eye to the country's good, will rise superior to every petty consideration.

Government Attitude to Hindu-Mohammedan Relations

It is sometimes hinted in some quarters that the Government in its heart of hearts does not desire that the Hindus and Mohammedans should ever come together; that it is always trying, though with extreme caution and cunning, to play off one community against the other; and that, finally, it is to the advantage of Government that the two communities should always be at loggerheads. Of course all this is utter nonsense. I do not, however, know whether I am perpetrating a 'blazing indiscretion' in referring to such fanciful matters. But it is no use disguising the fact that such matters are being discussed daily in almost every important city and town of India. Though I yield to no one—not even to Lord Curzon—in my admiration of the splendid Civil Service of India, I am, however, bound to confess that the conduct of some of its members, here and there, has sometimes lent some colour to such baseless conjectures and insinuations as those just alluded to. As soon as a new Collector or Deputy Commissioner arrives in a district people are keen to find out whether he is pro-native, pro-Hindu or pro-Mohammedan. Any public servant who does not hold the scales even. who is swayed by personal predilections, or who is openly

unsympathetic, is a traitor to his country. I do not think, however, that any mother's son outside of Bedlam believes for a moment that Government wants to sow discord between the two great communities of India. But if this sordid game were ever tried, it would—while gratuitously increasing a hundred-fold the anxieties, cares and difficulties of Government—inevitably end in disaster. The true interests of the people and of the Government lie in the peaceful and ordered development of the country, which can only be secured by mutual co-operation between the officers of the Government and the leaders of the people, without distinction of race or creed. That is the secret of successful rule in this country.

Employment in the Public Services

The question of employment in the public service to which I have just referred has, unfortunately, very often formed a bone of contention between the Hindus and the Mohammedans. This subject, which affects only the educated classes, who form but an infinitesimal part of the population, has from time to time excited keen interest in our community. We ought not, I think, to forego our right to claim a fair share of the loaves and fishes of State; besides, it is a great advantage to be trained in our public offices and, especially, to be associated with the practical work of administration, particularly in the higher branches of State service. But I beg to ask you, if, say, all the judgeships and Commissionerships in the country were filled exclusively by Mohammedans, in what way would that help to uplift the great mass of our people? We ought not, in our selfish interest, to think only of ourselves; but we ought rather to think more and more of the lower orders of our people, how to ameliorate their lot, and to raise their standard of comfort. This can only be done by reforming our social customs, by helping to extend primary and technical education, by developing trade and agriculture, our native industries and the economic resources of our country. How to do these things are precisely the questions which ought to engage the earnest thought, attention and study of our educated young men and of their elders. Here is a profitable field of development for those who have plenty of leisure on their hands and do not stand in need of service.

The first thing to do is to read up the whole literature available on the subject you are studying, and then to form your own opinion.

Developing Agriculture

Our greatest industry is agriculture, in which about 80 per cent of our population is engaged; and on its prosperity depends the prosperity of the whole country. If our crops are good: trade expands, the railway receipts mount up, the consumption of salt goes up, stamps and excise receipts increase; in fact, the effects are immediately reflected in every branch of the revenue. But the conditions under which land is held in this country do not favour its development. In the first place, the State revenue demand on land varies from province to province; and in some provinces is excessive, to say the least—as for instance, in the Central Provinces, in the capital of which we are assembled today. From the accumulated experience of ages it has been found that from one-fifth to one-sixth of the total gross produce of land is a fair rent in India, which enables our poor, afflicted peasantry—who are, perhaps, the most frugal and thrifty, and withal (except in Bengal) the most wretched in the world—to lay by something in fat years to serve them as a stand-by against rainy days; for, owing to the vagaries of rainfall, no industry is more subject to the vicissitudes of fortune than agriculture. You are very probably aware that between 50 and 60 million of our countrymen. Hindus and Mohammedans—about total strength of Islam in India—continually hover on the borderline which divides destitution from starvation. The unutterable pathos, gloom and tragedy of their lives, their ceaseless toil and struggle for bare existence, can only be realized by those who have come into personal contact with them. Is there no remedy for this state of things?

Another potent factor which hampers the development of land is the periodical settlements of land-revenue in most of the provinces of India after every 15, 20 or 30 years. Landlords, peasant-proprietors, farmers and tenants are all unwilling, in view of the short duration of settlements, to lay out sufficient capital on improvements for fear of increased assessments at the next periodic revision of revenue. If the period of settlements

were extended to 60 years (the normal span of human life in India) in all major provinces, subject to a minimum term of 40 years in less economically developed tracts (where an extension of irrigational facilities or the occupation of waste lands may reasonably be expected), a great impetus would be imparted to the rapid development of land. Any temporary loss of revenue would be more than recouped by the tide of prosperity which would flow from the productive development of the resources of land, and which would, in numerous indirect ways, amply replenish the Exchequer.

Another incubus which weighs down agriculture is the heavy load of indebtedness which hangs like a millstone round the necks of our cultivating classes. Great credit is due to the Government for organizing Co-operative Credit Societies, for the supply of capital to cultivators on easy terms for productive purposes, and to encourage habits of thrift. Judging from the results already achieved, the co-operative credit movement under the fostering care of Government has, I believe, taken permanent root in the country; and the organization and multiplication of Credit Societies and of the Central Banks which finance them, opens up the vista of a bright future for our sorely troubled cultivators, enabling them to depend more and more on co-operative effort to better their lot, and to depend less and less on the wily money-lender. Here is a field of activity in which Hindus and Mohammedans can patriotically co-operate with the Government for the welfare of our poor, hard-working cultivators, who stand so much in need of our practical sympathy.

Technical Education

There is another important subject to which I want to draw your attention. Much of the prevalent unrest, I am afraid, is due to the unemployment of large numbers of the educated classes. How to find a profitable outlet for the energies of these men is one of the most difficult problems of the day. For almost every post in the country I believe there are more than four dozen competent candidates; in other words, the supply exceeds the demand by about fiftyfold; and with the rapid strides that education is making, the supply will go on increasing at an accelerating ratio. In only too many cases the effect of English edu-

cation on an empty stomach is to breed discontent, disaffection, fierce denunciations of Government and all its ways, anarchist conspiracies, outbreaks of savagery and violent crime. Is it not, then, time to check the breeding of a race of malcontents and disappointed place-hunters all over the country by reforming our educational policy, without detriment, however, to the interests of secondary and higher education, and at the same time widely extending technical, industrial and scientific education throughout India? At all events, I trust the Government will be pleased to evolve, at an early date, a satisfactory scheme of technical education, which in course of time, I hope, will provide useful careers for our youths, and go a long way towards checking the growing discontent in the land, which is very often the result of a purely literary education and subsequent unemployment.

Royal Boons for Agriculture and Industry

I have already referred to His Majesty's projected visit to India. We may take it for granted that in celebration of the Coronation a plentiful shower of honours will descend on the country, and a large number of prisoners will be released. Speaking of honours, however, reminds me that in 1819, the then Nawab Vazeer of Oudh, Ghazi-ud-din Hyder, was induced by Lord Hastings to assume the title of 'Shah'. In every province of India, I believe, there are Chiefs who are entitled to a salute of guns, except in Oudh; though I am told that some 30 years or so ago there was a nobleman in Oudh, and after his death, his widow, who were thus honoured. But neither the shower of honours nor the release of prisoners will appeal to the imagination of the masses. I believe there are hardly any greater boons than the extension of the period of settlements to 60 years (to which I have just referred), and some measure of protection for our nascent industries. If, with the consent of the Indian and Home authorities, His Gracious Majesty were to announce the confirment of these boons at the Coronation Durbar at Delhi: it would send a thrill of joy and thankfulness throughout the length and breadth of India, perpetuate his blessed memory for generations to come, and draw closer the ties which bind the Princes and people of India to His Majesty's Throne and Person.

While we, on our part, Hindus and Mohammedans alike, should also do our humble duty by raising to his illustrious memory, in every province, a first grade model technical college—just as we in the United Provinces have founded in his memory at Lucknow, by public subscription, a splendid medical college when he came out to India five years ago as Prince of Wales.

Aligarh College and University

May I be permitted, further, to submit on behalf of His Imperial Majesty's Mohammedan subjects in India that, should His Majesty be graciously pleased to visit our poor College at Aligarh (in which all our hopes of future advancement are centred), no greater honour could be conferred on the entire Mohammedan community, and no greater encouragement could be extended to the cause of Mohammedan education? And should King Emperor George V be pleased to grace our College with a visit, is it too much to expect that, in honour and memory of His Imperial Majesty's visit, His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, His Highness the Nawab of Rampur and other benevolent Mohammedan Chiefs will not refuse to lend us a helping hand in establishing a Mohammedan University at Aligarh, to be named after His Majesty?

Reduction of Military and Civil Expenditure To Finance Development

One of the questions which may be expected to claim Lord Hardinge's attention is the growth of our military expenditure, which in the course of the last nine or 10 years'has increased, I believe, by about 8 or 9 crores. After the conclusion of the Anglo-Russian Convention of September 1907, which settled many outstanding difficulties affecting the interests of the two Powers in Persia, Afghanistan and Tibet, it might have been expected that our military expenditure would be gradually reduced, consistently with the safety of India; but that if this was found to be impossible, then a portion at least of our military expenditure would be borne by the British Exchequer, in consideration of the fact that we are maintaining our present forces in excess of our requirements, and therefore not solely for our

own defence, but also partly for Imperial purposes. The Anglo-Russian Convention "has been observed by both parties to it", said Lord Hardinge just before he left England to assume the Governor-Generalship of India, "with the utmost loyalty, and has happily resulted in the mutual co-operation of the two Powers for the maintenance of peace in Asia. The advantage to India of this peaceful development is incalculable, since the Russian menace has been dispelled and the bogey of a Russian invasion has been laid, thus giving greater opportunity and freedom to those entrusted with administration in India to consider many social problems affecting the welfare and development of the Indian people." I am afraid, however, that the immediate prospect before us is by no means bright; because, for the progress and development of the country, for the extension of primary and technical education, we require more money than can be looked for from the normal growth of our revenue. Where the money is to come from I know not—unless we make retrenchments in our civil and military expenditure, and curtail our railway grant. Lord Hardinge will have to take his courage in both hands to do these things.

Foreign Affairs

If I may be permitted to cast a glance at foreign affairs, I should like to say that we in India noted with deep concern and alarm that, in consequence of the recent British note to Persia. on the subject of policing the trade routes in Southern Persia (in which, by the way, as far as I can judge, there was nothing incompatible with the integrity and independence of Persia), some Persians and Turks appealed to the German Emperor for some sort of intervention. It would seem, I am afraid, as if there is something amiss in latter-day British diplomacy that our foreign co-religionists should begin to look more and more to the War-Lord of Germany for assistance and advice, rather than to England, which is the greatest 'Musalman' Power in the world, and the renowned protector and friend of nationalities struggling to be free. It would increase England's hold on the Islamic world if Turkish and Persian loans could be successfully placed on the London market, instead of in Paris or Berlin. Will our English financiers rise to the occasion?

Mohammedan Appointments to the Executive Council

I think I have already briefly touched on some of the pressing questions of the day. It is to be regretted that no Mohammedan has been made a member of the Executive Councils of either Bombay, Madras or Bengal. I trust that on a vacancy occurring a competent Mohammedan will be appointed, and that Lord Hardinge will be pleased to take steps in due course for the establishment of Executive Councils in the United Provinces and in the Punjab.

English-Indian Relations

I am afraid I have detained you much too long. There is, however, one point on which I wish to dwell for a moment, namely, the relations between the rulers and the ruled. On the cordiality of their social relations depends, to a large extent, the smooth working of the machinery of Government. Whilst most Englishmen, as a rule, are first-rate gentlemen, frank, courteous, considerate, honest and upright, there are, however, some, I regret to say, who are inclined to be rude and arrogant, and who habitually act on the pleasing theory of those heartless fishermen who hold that fish cannot feel. I want to assure these men that we, Indians, are not fish; why, even the fish-eating Bengali is not fish, as we all know from painfully startling experience. Few Englishmen have any idea what a sore point this is with educated Indians. We, Indians, are naturally quickly and warmly responsive to courtesy and kindness; but we deeply resent incivility and insolence. As a loyal subject of the Crown, I desire to impress upon all those Englishmen who are pleased to think that Indians are fish that cannot feel, that an affront offered to an educated or refined Indian is like—what shall I say?—converting a friend into a bitter foe. And the enmity of an educated man is not to be lightly despised; for it works incalculable harm in diverse ways undreamt of by unimaginative Englishmen. The feeling that the affronted belongs to a subject race, and that for various reasons he cannot retaliate, accentuates the mischief all the more. "The eradication of insolence, on one hand, and feeling of inferiority and mortification, on the other, between the rulers and the ruled" is, according to the Hon'ble

Syed Ali Imam, "one of the many grave questions in practical politics in India that equally affect all classes of our countrymen." In the interests of peace and goodwill neither the rulers nor the ruled can afford to be rude to one another. Most of the evils which afflict us in this world are generally the result of ignorance. All honour, therefore, to those amiable, well-intentioned men who are trying to bring about a better understanding between the rulers and the ruled, by bringing them together on all possible occasions. The more they come to know of each other, the better they will like each other and respect each other. But without mutual forbearance and respect no good understanding can be lasting.

Working the Reformed Administration

In inaugurating the Reforms Scheme, the Government has broken new ground; and a fresh chapter has opened in the administrative methods of this country. In calling representative Indian opinion to its aid, and giving it an effective voice in the affairs of the country, the Government has proved once more that it is both enlightened and progressive, and that it is animated by a sincere desire to rule the country in the interests of the people. A solemn duty rests upon our countrymen of all races and creeds to co-operate whole heartedly with the Government in its endeavours to promote the common weal. On the success of the present enterprise depends, in great measure, the further extension of what, in the language of hyperbole, may be called the 'sovereignty' of the people controlled by the Government; for, if we prove ourselves worthy of the trust generously reposed in us, it is inconceivable that the Government can stand still, or refuse to associate us more and more in the governance of the country. In the fulness of time we may confidently hope for a further enlargement of popular liberties. If I might take the liberty of addressing a word or two to our Mohammedan Councillors, I would venture to say that the honour of our community in a manner rests in their hands; and every Mohammedan, therefore, sincerely hopes and trusts that by their knowledge, application, moderation and capacity for intelligent speech and clear thinking, they will bring credit on the great

community to which they belong, and also show themselves able to take a worthy part in the deliberations on affairs of State.

Self-Reliance

We have been often taunted by unfriendly critics that on every conceivable occasions we desire to be put under a special course of treatment and to be spoon-fed. Even our best friends who appreciate our difficulties, drawbacks and disabilities, and who sincerely sympathize with our legitimate claims, hopes and aspirations, have sometimes regretfully noted a certain tendency on our part showing that we rather prefer being treated on most occasions with special favour. If there is really any tendency in this direction, it must be discouraged; for it can only end in demoralizing our community, which would be a great calamity. We must stand on our own legs and walk by ourselves; for, if we get accustomed to crutches, we shall be crippled for life; and above all, we must remember that competition is the breath of modern life.

Appeal for Support to Muslim Education

The Raja of Bhinga, an enlightened nobleman of Oudh, has within the last year or two given about 10 or 12 lakhs towards founding a School and Boarding House in Benares for the education of Kshatriyas, one of the noblest races of men that ever trod the earth, but, educationally, as backward as we. You might be tempted to think that the Raja Saheb Bahadur must be an immensely rich man. Not at all, for he pays Government revenue of only about a lakh and a quarter. It is interesting to recall that the Raja Saheb Bahadur of Bhinga has thoughtfully named his school after the sagacious and strenuous ruler of the United Provinces, Sir John Hewett, who, with the prescience of a statesman, has rightly perceived that the true and vital interests of the country lie in the direction of a steady extension of education—chiefly primary, female, scientific and industrial and a progressive development of the economic resources of the country. Only a few years ago another Raiput nobleman, the late Raja Saheb Bahabur of Awa in the Etah district of the United Provinces, donated, I believe, a like sum towards establishing a similar institution at Agra. Of all the sons of Islam in India is there no one who can pluck up courage to emulate the noble example of these munificent Indian benefactors of their race? We are all very properly proud of our dear Aligarh College. But are there any voluntary and honorary workers there as they have at the Central Hindu College of Benares? Speaking of Benares reminds me of the ruling powers which have lately been granted to His Highness the Maharaja Saheb Bahadur of Benares. I desire to congratulate him on the accession of dignity which has come to him, and which, I doubt not, he has richly deserved. I feel sure that His Highness will follow the noble example of the British Government and make no distinctions between the various races and creeds of his subjects.

And now I have done. I am afraid I have exhausted your patience. I have a firm faith in the virility and destiny of my nation; and I am convinced that if we only know our minds and are unwavering in our loyalty to Government, we cannot fail to exercise a most wholesome influence on the conduct of public affairs. Already a bright future is unfolding itself before our eyes, in which we are destined, if we are only true of ourselves and to our country, to play an ever-increasing and prominent part. We must never forget that we are the scions of a famous race which once made history, and that India is our Motherland, the glorious heritage handed down to us by our illustrious forbears, to share with our Hindu brethren and to transmit it unimpaired to our posterity, marching hand in hand with our Hindu compatriots, under the guidance and protecting shield of our English rulers, along the path of moral, intellectual and material progress.

Some resolutions relating to important questions of the day will now be laid before you, which I hope you will unanimously pass after due consideration.

DEATH OF KING EDWARD VII

The first resolution which was moved by the President referred to the death of His Majesty King Edward. It was carried as befitting the occasion in solemn silence, and ran as follows:

"The All-India Muslim League, voicing the feelings of the 60 million loyal Musalmans of India expresses its profound

sorrow at the lamented demise of His Majesty King Edward VII, who during his short but illustricus reign not only succeeded in winning the esteem and affection of all the members of his world-wide Empire, but was justly regarded as a friend and promoter of peace throughout the civilized world.

ACCESSION OF KING GEORGE V

The next resolution moved from the Chair related to the accession of the present King was received with acclamation and loud applause by the audience, and ran as follows:

The All-India Muslim League on behalf of the Musalmans of India, tenders its loyal and respectful homage to His Majesty King George V on his accession to the Imperial Throne, prays for him a long and happy life and a prosperous and glorious reign, and looks forward with joy and gratitude to the opportunity which His Majesty is graciously affording to the people of this country, of according to him the most cordial welcome that has ever been offered to any Sovereign by loyal and devoted subjects.

The President referred to the great joy His Majesty's intended visit to India had given them, and he hoped the Muslims would suitably commemorate it as proposed by His Highness the Aga Khan. The allusion of the President to the coming visit of His Majesty evoked great enthusiasm and the resolution was carried by acclamation.

INDIAN REPRESENTATION

The Chairman next proposed:

The All-India Muslim League tenders its sincere thanks to His Majesty the King-Emperor, the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State and His Excellency the Viceroy for the liberal confirmation of the principle of having an Indian on the Imperial Executive Council, and further begs to express its cordial sense of obligation for the recognition of the communal interests of the Musalmans by elevating the Hon'ble Syed Ali Imam

to the legal membership, who, the All-India Muslim League feels sure, will prove a source of strength to the Government of India.

In moving the resolution, he said they were rejoicing that one of their ex-Presidents had been called upon to fill the most important place in the Viceroy's Executive Council that could be given to an Indian under Lord Morley's Reforms. The proposition was put to the vote from the Chair and carried unanimously.

The first sitting then came to a close.

SECOND SITTING

The second sitting commenced after lunch at 2-30 p.m. In this sitting many important resolutions were adopted, and the speeches delivered were practical and to the point. His Highness the Aga Khan entered the Hall after an hour and was enthusiastically received.

SCHEME OF REFORMS I

The afternoon's first resolution was moved by Nawab Nasirul-Mumalik Mirza Shujaat Ali Beg, and ran as follows:

The All-India Muslim League places on record its deep appreciation of the sterling services rendered by Lord Minto, during a period of stress and storm, to the cause of Indian progress during his tenure of office, by his far-reaching Scheme of Reforms, the association of Indians in the real government of the country, and statesmanlike recognition of the just claims of the Musalman community for its proper share in the administration of the country.

In moving the resolution, he said:

I have been privileged, and feel it a great honour, to move the resolution which has been put down in my name. This resolution is the outcome of the fulness of grateful hearts for the boon which has been conferred by the sterling services rendered

to India by Lord Minto. After the able references to those services by the President of this Session of the Muslim League and the President of the Reception Committee I can hardly add to them. You are well aware that when Lord Minto succeeded to the Viceroyalty of India, he did not, as the President remarked, succeed to a bed of roses and that on assuming office he was confronted with political problems of great complexity. Since the Proclamation of Queen Victoria of blessed memory, in 1858, India has been preparing itself to assimilate Western culture and thought and with the progress of education, there has been a growth of political ideas and new aspirations in the country. Lord Ripon's sympathetic administration gave an impetus to these ideas; but of late years the transition has been rapid, which generally follows when scattered forces of a country are being collected for a change in the social and political regeneration of a nation. Such was the time of stress and storm in which Lord Minto was sent out to India and tendered signal services to the cause of Indian progress by his far-reaching Scheme of Reform. He realized the situation in India and so did Lord Morley in England. It was evident to them that the policy enunciated from time to time showed that England considered it to be her duty to study the interest, the happiness and the welfare of the people of India: that the people of India should be associated and assisted in the administration of the country; that all disabilities in regard to public employment should be removed, and that the policy of the British rule should be a policy of justice and righteousness and of the advancement of the people. The Indian administration should be brought into closer contact with the Indian peoples; and it is by an honest, courageous and statesmanlike policy that England would be able to discharge its momentous trust, the most momentous trust that was ever committed to a great State. This brings one to the broad and statesmanlike policy of Lord Minto. The enlargement of the Councils, the further discussion of the Budget, the appointment of Indian executive members of the Imperial and Provincial Councils, the nomination of Indians to the Secretary of State's Council are the principal reforms which have won Lord Minto the admiration and gratitude of our country and community. With these few words I move the resolution.

Mr. Ghulam Mohammad Munshi seconded the resolution, and it was carried unanimously.

SCHEME OF REFORMS II

The next resolution was moved by Syed Shamsul Huda, and ran as follows:

The All-India Muslim League respectfully places on record its deep appreciation of the masterly and statesmanlike manner in which the Right Hon'ble Viscount Morley of Blackburn has guided the destinies of His Majesty's Indian Empire in a period of storm and stress, never departing in spirit from the best liberal traditions, and expresses its deep sense of gratitude to him for associating Indians in the real government of the country, and courageously inaugurating a system of reform whilst the country was seething with discontent, and in that connection doing justice of the claims of His Majesty's Musalman subjects.

In proposing the above resolution, Syed Shamsul Huda observed that Lord Morley was a commanding figure in the public life of modern England and India. In the muster-roll of distinguished Englishmen who have plunged into Indian affairs with an abounding love and have served her with passionate devotion, Lord Morley, he said, will be one of the most distinguished. How many of us, children of the soil, whose bones will rest here, whose interests, sympathies and reminiscences are centred in this ancient land, can claim to have exhibited, in the record of their lifework, the selfless devotion, the unflinching self-secrifice and the supreme love for India and her peoples which have always been dominating features in the public career of Lord Morley?

If it is true that the unrest, of which we hear so much, and much of which is due to the impact of British influence and of Western civilization, it is true, in an equal sense, that the public spirit which glows in the bosoms of so many of us has derived its impulse and its living inspiration from the examples of great and good Englishmen like Lord Morley who remained unmoved during a period of storm and stress. The Musalmans of India, at any rate, are deeply grateful to Lord Morley as he has given them an opportunity to take part in the public life of the

country. He added that he was glad to say that so far as the Muslim members of the Imperial Council were concerned they were able to hold their own with the best representatives of the other communities.

The resolution was seconded by Mr. Fazalbhoy Carrimbhoy Ebrahim, and carried nem con.

COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION

The sixth resolution was moved by Moulvi Rafiuddin Ahmed, and ran as follows:

The All-India Muslim League once again records its deliberate opinion that in the interests of the Musalman community, it is absolutely necessary that the principal of communal representation be extended to all self-governing public bodies, and respectfully urges that a provision for the adequate and effective representation of the Musalmans on municipal and district boards is a necessary corollary of the application of the principle to the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils and, at the same time, essential to the successful working not only of the Reform Scheme, but also of those public bodies themselves.

Moulvi Raffuddin, in proposing the resolution, made a characteristic speech, vigorously criticizing the principle which led to the exclusion of the Muslims from municipalities and local boards, and pointing out the need for communal representation on these bodies. When the local Self-Government Act was introduced 27 years ago, the Mohammedans of Bombay Presidency presented a petition to the Government protesting against municipal elections by means of wards instead of by means of sections. They were informed that they were too premature in anticipating the results of the Local Self-Government Act and that a fair trial should be given to it. If the Act failed in its operation to do justice to the Mohammedans, steps would be taken to amend it from time to time. The Mohammedans repeatedly sent in complaints of their interests in municipal matters being inadequately represented in municipalities and local boards. Twentyseven years had gone by and the Act had been given a fair trial

with what might be called disastrous consequences for the Mohammedan community. The result was that they had not had sufficient opportunity of being trained in the primary duties of citizenship for which municipal and local boards furnish training grounds. The question derived its importance from the enlargement of privileges likely to be vested in the local boards as a result of the recommendations of the Decentralization Commission. If they were carried out, subdistrict boards would be universally established and be given charge of primary education, vaccination, sanitation etc. The services referred to were of vital importance to the everyday life of the people, and it was quite conceivable that unless arrangements were made for ensuring its due representation, the Muslim minority would labour under a great hardship and be practically debarred from the enjoyment of its civic rights. It was therefore essential that, while according fresh privileges to local bodies. Government should take steps to secure the protection of Mohammedan interests by the medium of electoral regulations for their separate adequate representation. If they sent a representation to Government on the subject through their distinguished leader and revered President, he was sure that their representation would be considered favourably.

Syed Tufail Ahmed of Fatehpore, in supporting the resolution, threw considerable light on the inadequacy of Muslim representation in his own district, which had a large Muslim population. In a few touching words, he stressed the hardships to which Musalmans would be subjected if separate representation were not given to them in the municipal and the district boards.

The resolution was then put to the vote and carried unanimously.

WAKF-ALAL-AULAD

The seventh resolution, which related to Wakf-alal-Aulad, was moved by Kazi Kabiruddin, and ran as follows:

The All-India Muslim League reiterates its firm conviction that their Lordships of the Privy Council have fallen into an error in deciding that under Mohammedan law, it is not valid to create a Wakf or Endowment the immediate object of which

is to benefit and secure from want the relations or descendants of the endower; and in view of the disintegration of Musalman families consequent on this misinterpretation of the law and the disastrous consequences resulting therefrom to the well-being of the Muslim community, the League again strongly urges upon the Government the desirability and urgency of a legislative enactment declaring the validity of such endowments, and thus restoring to the Musalmans of India the full benefit of their own law to regulate their religious institutions of Wakf, which is now conceded to them in this particular sense merely in name.

In proposing the resolution, Kazi Kabiruddin dealt with the question historically and then adduced many quotations from approved law-books regarding the validity of this kind of Wakf. He said:

There is not a more interesting question to the Mohammedans of India at the present juncture than that of Wakf-alal-Aulad. The law in question relates to the most ancient and cherished institution of preserving the family property upon which depended the prosperity of the principal Mohammedan families which had rendered important services to the State in times of danger. The Privy Council, by its last decision, has completely upset this branch of Mohammedan law. The judgment affects Wakfs of that nature that have been made in this country since the foundation of Mohammedan rule in India, as also those that might be made in future. It will conduce to the breaking up of an institution which rests on the highest religious and social sanction and which in the past has saved a large number of Mohammedan families from destitution, while it has at the same time enabled pious Mohammedans to practise what they look upon as an act of great religious merit. The advantages of this system were mostly taken by the landed gentry who largely belonged to the middle classes. The decision encouraged mischievous people to go to court to set aside long established Wakfs. They have succeeded and thus brought about disruption in numberless families. The best families are ruined and reduced to poverty. The properties that were so far saved have been split up into small fractions and thus destroyed.

The decision of the Privy Council has created a most curious and at the same time most unreasonable position for the Mohammedans. English law gives a certain latitude for the family settlement; but that also is denied to the Mohammedans as they are subject to and are governed by Mohammedan law. The Privy Council has curtailed the rights of Mohammedans according to English notions, without giving them corresponding advantages which are enjoyed under English law. The judgment may be due to a misconception of the real spirit of Mohammedan law, or to a misunderstanding of the texts upon which that law is based, or to the inability to find out the original texts bearing on the point. Whatever the cause, the fact remains that their Lordships' judgment is completely inconsistent with the true principles of the law.

The important question that is troubling the Mohammedan mind throughout India at the present moment is how to remedy this state of affairs. Before making any suggestions, it would be desirable to deal with the question, 'what is Wakf-alal-Aulad and what was the intention of the original law-giver?', and at the same time, point out by example how it was acted upon during the lifetime of the Prophet, how the jurists or the expounders of Mohammedan law understand it and explain it, and how the Mohammedans in different parts of the world during the last 1,300 years have understood it and acted upon it.

The laws of all countries are partly of universal application and partly operative on particular communities only. Among most of the civilized nations of the world, the former class occupies a pre-eminent position while the latter generally relates to a few concerns of small minorities. But in British India the situation is quite the reverse. While the laws applicable to all sections of the people alike are not quite so few and unimportant, the laws dealing with the concerns of particular communities are by far the more important part of the two, and occupy—partly by intrinsic merit, partly by historical worth and partly because they influence and govern at every step the everyday life of the followers of two of the greatest religions of the world—a pre-eminent position not only among the laws of British India, but also among the laws of the world. These are the Hindu and the Mohammedan laws, the former governing all questions of the succession and inheritance of 207

millions of His Majesty's Hindu subjects, and the latter governing all such questions as marriages, gifts, etc., among the 65 million Mohammedan subjects of His Majesty in India, and the everyday life of 140 million Mohammedans outside India in Turkey, Persia, Arabia, Africa, etc. Mohammedan law, as contrasted with other systems of law, at once presents one strong distinguishing mark: it bears the impress of the personality of the great Arabian Prophet in all its branches. After the death of the Prophet; the Quran was the sole guide of the faithful. In addition to that, every act of the Prophet's life, his utterances. etc.. were considered authoritative, and were resorted to for the purpose of furnishing solutions to some of the difficulties of the day. In fact the whole of Mohammedan law, and the entire system of Mohammedan theology, ritual and ethics is based upon the Quran and the Sunnat, Hadis, Ijmaa and Kiyas. Later on. Mohammedan law was divided into four schools. The principal school in British India, and for the matter of that, in the whole Muslim world, is the celebrated *Hanafite* school. Abu Yousuf and Imam Mohammad, disciples of Abu Hanifa, expounded the Mohammedan law very accurately, and all jurists of more or less renown have followed them. These are the only authoritative sources of Mohammedan law, and it is in them that we are to find a solution to our difficulties.

The technical expression for a charitable and religious endowment is Wakf. According to the two disciples of Abu Hanifa, Wakf signifies "the appropriation of a particular article in such a manner as subjects it to the rules of divine property, whence the appropriator's right in it is extinguished and it becomes the property of God, by the advantage of it resulting to His creatures."

The doctrine of Wakf-alal-Aulad practically starts from the date of the founding of the religion of Islam. A Mohammedan was taught to believe that the motive which induces a man to make a Wakf was that God should be pleased with him and show him favour. This motive is entirely religious, because Islam teaches him that God's favour and pleasure are worth having and worth striving for. As a Mohammedan is specially charged with the ideas of his religion, his views are in accordance with the ideas inculcated by his religion and his motives are perfectly in consonance with his special training under that law.

His religion furnishes him with the principles of the best mode of realizing his hopes and his desires. Thus when a Mohammedan is seeking religious reward, he is guided by his own laws and not merely by the laws of universal morality. Muslim jurists have pointed out that Wakfs have the sanction of the Great Prophet himself. Ghaitul-Bayana, a book of great repute, states: Khalifa Omar once consulted the Prophet as to the most pious use he could make of his land, who declared "tie up the property (corpus) and devote the usufruct to human beings, and it is not to be sold and made the subject of gift or inheritance, devote its produce to your children and your kindred and the poor in the way of God." Fathul-Kadir, another work of high authority, says the Prophet always maintained that all human actions ended with the life of the individual, except such benefactions as were perpetual in character. There are many instances of this kind in other books.

Endowments of Wakfs are to be found in all communities. But the Mohammedan law provides that when a person dedicates his property to God, for some object of piety or charity i.e., to benefit the poor and the indigent—that property does not remain liable to be sold, gifted or inherited. Other religions confine the object of charities to strangers; whereas Islam, on account of its catholicity, makes its scope wider and provides that even a man's relations can partake of its benefits. Islam enjoins it as a duty on a person to support himself, his family and his descendants, and further provides that the performance of this duty will entitle him to reward from God. It must also be marked that the demerits of the English law of entail do not exist in this Muslim endowment. It does not make over all the property to a single heir. It proposes that all the heirs should be supported by the endowment. Such Wakfs have been in force for about 13 centuries, and have been cherished and valued by Musalmans in every country where Islam is recognized and practised...They are based upon those direct ordinances of the Founder of the Musalman religion which are regarded by Muslims as Divine Commandments, supplementary to those contained in the Quran. The Prophet not only declared such Wakfs valid and lawful, but encouraged their creation by dedicating his own property, the little he had, to his posterity. There is no difference among the sects in which Musalmans are divided,

about the validity and lawfulness of such an institution. This form of Islamic law and custom was so well-recognized that innumerable *Wakfs* to descendants existed throughout the land, and they were recognized by English courts up to very recent times.

Eversince the connection of Britain with India, the East India Company and the Crown, alike, have by various Acts of Parliament and the Indian Legislature guaranteed to the people of India that they shall be governed by their personal laws. Since the year 1871, the Acts mentioned above have laid down an obligation on His Majesty's Courts in India to administer the Mohammedan law to the Muslims. One of the objects of the Act of Parliament, 21 George III, Cap. 71, was "that the inhabitants should be maintained and protected in the enjoyment to (sic) all their ancient laws, usages, rights and privileges." The provisions of the above Act have been repeatedly re-enunciated in later statutes in England and India and are now substantially embodied in the Bengal Civil Courts Act VI of 1871, and "constitute one of the most important guarantees given to the people of India by the British rule." The Indian courts successfully administered it till the time they were assisted by muftees or Mohammedan law officers, as through them they could ascertain the purport of the original texts. Since the abolition of the posts of mustees, an English judge who is unacquainted with the language in which the law is written finds considerable difficulty in understanding the spirit of that law. The judgments of the mustee period show unparalleled uniformity and adherence to the original principles, intentions, and the spirit. Subsequent judgments show departures from recognized texts owing to the aforesaid difficulties. Another unfortunate effect of the abolition of the posts of muftees was that educated Muslims gave up cultivating the knowledge of Muslim law as there was no opening for them. Mohammedan law being clothed, for the most part, in the garb of an unfamiliar language, the Western lawyers and judges found it extremely difficult to ascertain and apply its principles. They, therefore, invoked the aid of English law either to cut down or explain away its meaning, and were thus induced to introduce Western thoughts and ideas into the principles of this law. Thus the former uniformity underwent a change. The decision of the Judicial Committee is the crowning point.

Recently certain cases of ancient Wakfs came up before the Calcutta High Court, and its decisions directly conflicted with the generally accepted view of the Mohammedan law, and with the prevailing customs and practices and sentiments of the people on the subject.

Till the year 1874, it was an undisputed and clearly laid down principle that the Wakf under which income of the property was reserved for the benefit of the founder's life, and after him for that of his descendants in perpetuity, was valid. In that year Baboo Shamcharan Sircar embodied that principle in his Tagore law lectures. It was in 1887, in a Bombay case, that Mr. Justice Farran first suggested that such a Wakf was not valid. There were two conflicting decisions of the Calcutta High Court in 1891 and 1892. But the Full Bench of that Court held against the validity of such Wakfs.

The Judicial Committee had for the first time in 1889 expressed an opinion that to create a valid Wakf, there must be a substantial dedication, and not an illusory one, of property to charitable uses. At that time, they had declined to decide whether or not a gift to charitable uses which was only to take effect after the failure of all the grantor's descendants would be illusorv. In 1894 in another case, they not only reaffirmed their former decision, but further laid down that a provision for the poor after the total extinction of the family would be illusory. The effect of the decision is that any Wakf under which the founder has reserved the income to himself for life and after his death to his descendants, cannot now be sustained in British India, and all rights and interests created under such Wakfs in former times are destroyed. The principle affirmed in this judgment is universally believed to be subversive of the Mohammedan law of Wakfs. The result was that ancient Wakfs were picked up and wrecked.

Mohammedan lawyers throughout India are unanimous in asserting that the view taken by the Privy Council is incorrect and contrary to the most cherished charter quoted above. The law as administered by Mohammedan judges in Mohammedan countries, such as Turkey, Egypt, Persia, etc. and that administered in Mohammedan states in India—viz., Hyderabad, Bhopal, Tonk, Rampur etc.—is in accordance with Mohammedan law and against the interpretation of the Privy Council. This

may be verified from the fact that a very large proportion of land in Turkey, Egypt, Persia and India was and is even now held under family settlements created by way of Wakf, constitutioned and conditioned in the way in which they were done here in this country.

Further, all the recognized books on the subject prove that Wakfs for descendants are allowed. It is well nigh impossible to give a complete list of all Mohammedan law-books, but I propose to mention a few leading and recognized ones.

The Hidaya is the most celebrated law book according to the Hanasite school. It is a commentary on the Badaia-al-Mubtada, and most of the matter contained in it was from Jamia-as-Saghir and Kuduri. These three books are the most recognized law books amongst Mohammedans. The Hidaya being a work of such eminent authority is illustrated by a large number of commentaries, the most conspicuous of them being (a) the Nihaya, (b) Inayah, (c) the Kifaya, (d) the Fathul-Kadir, (e) the Fawaid. There is a book Multak-al-Abhar, which is referred to as an authority in the Turkish dominions. Another book published in Alexandria in the year 1893 is called Droit Mussulman de Wakf ('The Musalman Law of Wakf'-Hanafite). Another published in Constantinople in the year 1890 is called Lois regissant les Proprietes dediees ('Laws Regulating Property Endowments'), by Omar Hilmi Effendi. In addition to these, there are other books in which decisions are collected, so that they are really the law reports or the case-law of that period. Besides (1) the Fatawa Kazi Khan, (2) the Tanwir-al-Absar, and its commentaries, (a) Manh-al-Ghaffar, (b) Durr-al-Mukhtar, (c) Radul-Mukhtar, and (3) the Fatawa Alamgiri are all considered as authorities.

The Mohammedans rely upon these books as their authorities and expect English judges to expound the law from these books.

As the law settled by the decisions of the highest courts in India and the Privy Council stands at present, the Wakfs, the sole or main object of which is the support of the settlers' descendants and relations, are entirely invalid, though a provision for descendants and relations in a Wakf making a substantial dedication to charity is not invalid.

The Privy Council have expressed their views in the case of

Abul Fata vs. Rasamaya (I.L.R. 2, Cal. 631). Their Lordships apparently seem to hold that the same consideration which would make the creation of successive life estates invalid under a gift also apply to a settlement made in favour of descendants and relations, and further, that perpetuity is as vitiating a circumstance in the case of a family settlement as in that of a gift. Their Lordships maintain that certain precepts with reference to family settlements originating from the Prophet do not exactly apply in spite of their excellence, though their Lordships add that it would be unjust to the great law-giver to say that he was thereby commanding gifts for which the donor exercised no selfdenial, in which he took back with one hand what he gave with the other, and which were to form the centre of accumulation of income and further accessions to family property, which protected the so-called managers from rendering accounts, and which sought to give donors and their families the enjoyment of property free from all liability to creditors.

To sum up, to the best of my ability, the objections of the Privy Council come to this, and as far as possible I have quoted their Lordship's own words:

- (1) "If examined broadly there appears no difference between a gift and a Wakf. Both are resignations in favour of another or others. The question therefore arises that if a Mohammedan cannot, under the Mohammedan law, create a single inalienable life interest by means of a gift, it does not stand to reason that he should be allowed to do so by merely saying that he creates a Wakf and does not make a gift. Not only this, but if the argument of the appellant is carried to its logical conclusion by a mere introduction of the name of God, he is allowed to create an inalienable life-interest. This position appears unsound in principle and hence unjust. It therefore must be declared to be illegal."
- (2) "So many privileges, attached to Wakf, are mainly owing to its charitable purpose and religious sanctity. It is this feature more than anything else which makes it so favourably looked upon by the Mohammedan law-givers. Charity is the principle underlying Wakfs, and hence it is essentially necessary that it must be strictly adhered to. Therefore unless, the bulk of the property is set apart and devoted to charitable uses, a mere mention of the word Wakf would make it valid in a court of law."

- (3) "It is said that Wakf is a religious institution, a most cherished one too. Now a religious institution must be co-extensive with charitable uses. Without a charitable use there can be no religious trust. Self-preserving or self-aggrandizing institutions can in no sense be said to be religious. Perpetual family settlements, even though made as a Wakf, are merely clothed with an apparent religious sanctity, as long as they are mainly intended for the benefit of one's family. They cannot be made in the name of religious trusts unless they take the form (not merely outward) of a substantial dedication for the benefit of the poor. There must be a provision for the poor therein, coming into operation at once."
- (4) "This provision for the poor must be substantial, and must not be put off indefinitely, or to take effect after a long time. It must come into operation at once or at least as soon as possible after the creator's demise."
- (5) "Help to one's own family members can in no sense be called charity. Hence a dedication for the benefit of one's own descendants and relations in perpetuity can never be a charitable one. It is an act which may be highly commendable socially, but not being a charitable one, it cannot form a valid object for Wakf. To be a Wakf, dedicated for charitable objects, it must be mainly for the benefit of the poor as a class."
- (6) "The original texts cited by Mr. Ameer Ali (Now Right Honourable) in this judgment, from various law-books of great antiquity, are merely abstract in character, and do not occur, in the various passages, as having a mandatory character. Such passing sentences were not written by the authors in answer to, or in satisfaction of the difficulties."
- (7) "The precedents cited are also of a very vague and abstract character. The instances show that certain persons made certain arrangements, and some of them were approved by the Prophet himself. But beyond these plain facts, we know nothing else. In order that they may serve as guiding precedents, we ought to know much more about them before we can rely upon them."
- (8) "The authority of the *Hidaya*—the most authoritative law-book of Islam—is not in favour of the validity of such *Wakfs*, but is rather against recognizing such *Wakfs*."

Before putting forward the views of Mohammedan lawyers,

let us consider the above-mentioned arguments.

- (1) As regards the analogy between gifts and Wakfs, they are completely distinct from one another. The motive of a gift is purely secular while that of a Wakf is pre-eminently religious. A gift is dedication, without consideration, unless it is Bilewaz, in favour of a private individual, regardless of any religious merit. Restrictions are therefore imposed upon gifts to avoid the contingency of a person cheating his creditors. But a Wakf is in its very nature a religious act. In Eastern communities, law and religion are very much blended together; even everyday actions of a man are governed by religious forms. Islam is pre-eminently so. In it acts approved of by religion are clothed with legal sanction. The renunciation of one's own property in favour of God, which is the essence of Wakf, was thus warmly approved of by the Prophet. The religious merit, which was the consideration for such a dedication, was looked upon as more valuable than money or property. Such a dedication, can be (a) immediate or (b) remote. Both were looked on with approval. It is the latter which forms the subject-matter of this paper. Thus no analogy can be drawn between these two forms of dedications, as they differ so widely in form and spirit. The law-givers naturally cherished the latter, because the consideration for a Wakf is the favour of God; whereas the consideration for a gift is the favour of man.
- (2) The English Judges have used the word 'charity' in the sense of English law; whereas the interpretation put upon it by Mohammedan law is entirely different. This misinterpretation has given rise to all the errors. There is a vast difference between the word 'charity' and the word 'piety' in the English language. The one denotes a social virtue, while the other denotes a religious virtue. The one is an act which bases its claim to recognition as a virtuous act on the sanction of secularity, the other on the sanction of religion. A pious act and a religious act are the same. Anything which is pious is religious. The two ideas are so inseparably associated together. But a charitable act is not always a religious act. A particular action may be charitable and at the same time may be opposed to religion. In every society (at least in every civilized society) the ideas of charity are almost the same. That which is charitable according to English ideas is also charitable according to Hindu or Mohammedan

- ideas. But an action approved by the Christian religion may be looked upon with indifference by the Islamic religion, and may also be strictly forbidden by the Hindu religion. It is a matter of common experience that human charity is controlled and regulated by religious notions; and what would be charitable in the eyes of a particular sect need not necessarily be charitable in the eyes of another (sic). Thus 'charitable' and 'pious' are not synonymous, but totally distinct ideas. Wakf is a pious act according to the tenets of Islam. The use of the word charity in connection with Wakf is unwarrantable and confusing. It is sanctioned by the law-giver of Islam, not because it is charitable but only because it is religious. Hence any decision adjudicating upon the question of Wakf which proceeds on a consideration purely of the meaning of charity is bound to be erroneous and opposed to the spirit of the institution of Wakf.
- (3) The same fallacy underlies the argument, "a religious institution must be co-extensive with a charitable use". With due deference to their Lordships, I cannot subscribe to the above proposition. Similarly, the proposition, "without a charitable use there cannot be a religious trust", must be challenged as not always true. When Mohammedan law bases the validity of a Wakf on its religious nature, it is useless to judge it from the English notions of charity. The Law of Islam sanctions Wakfs, not because it is charitable, but because it is religious. The only condition laid down to make it a valid dedication for one's own descendants is that it should, at some time or other, result in favour of the poor, viz., the favourites of God. There is no idea of charity alone in the institution.
- (4) & (5) "Help to one's own family members can in no sense be called charity. Hence a dedication for the benefit of one's own descendants and relations, in perpetuity, can never be a charitable one." 'Charitable' it may not be as the word is understood in the English language. But if such a dedication is sanctioned by the religion of Islam and commended as both religious and charitable (using the word charity, as it is understood in the Muslim world), it cannot be set aside, simply because it does not agree with the meaning of the word charity as it is understood in the English language. Not being a social institution, it is not correct to judge it according to the ideas received in society.

- (6) The question is not whether the texts are abstract, but whether they serve the purpose for which they are cited. If it is found beyond all shadow of doubt that they support the institution of Wakf, nay, not only support but commend them from a religious standpoint, then whether they are abstract or concrete does not matter much. But, as a matter of fact, the texts cited are neither abstract nor are they mandatory. They are the direct answers of the Prophet to various questions put to him by his disciples and bear directly on the point. However, if the question merely rests on this, then it will not be very difficult to solve it to the satisfaction of all; for it is very easy to multiply the quotations to any length. Mr. Ameer Ali, Judge of the Calcutta High Court, quotes a precept of the Prophet Mohammad, to the effect that "a pious offering to one's family to provide against their getting into want is more pious than giving alms to beggars." This is not an isolated saying of the Prophet on the subject, but there are a number of authentic traditions and examples of the same:
 - (a) Ibrahim Huzuly mentions in his book Ghuriebul-Hadees that Abu Bakar, son of Abu Shybuta, reported to me that Hufs, son of Hyas, has heard from Hesham, son of Oorwa, who heard from his father that Zubair, son of Awaim, made Wakf of his house on such of his daughters as may be divorced.
 - (b) Abdullah bin Omar made a Wakf of the share which he inherited from the Khalifa Omar to his needy descendants.
 - (c) Arkam made a Sadka of his house on his children, adding, "This is Sadka in the name of God Most High and Merciful, and it shall not be the subject of sale and inheritance."
- (d) Baihuky mentions in his book Khilafyat that Abu Bakar Abdullah, son of Zaheer Hameedy, said that Khalifa Abu Bakar made Sadka of his house in Mecca on his sons, and this Wakf subsisted up to the present day.
- (e) The Khalifa Omar made a Wakf of his property in Merwa, with appurtenances, on his sons and the Wakf still subsists.
- (f) The Khalifa Ali made a Wakf of his house and lands in Egypt and his property in Medina for his daughters, and the Wakf still subsists.
- (g) Saad, son of Wakkas, made a Wakf of his property near

Merwa and his houses situated at Medina and in Egypt on his descendants, and this continues to subsist up to the present day.

- (h) Fathul-Kadir, an authoritative commentary on Hidaya, mentions the following precedent: "Zubair bin Awaim made a Wakf of his house for his divorced daughter."
- (i) The same book also mentions, on the authority of Hakim, that the house near Safa in which the Prophet resided in the early days of Islam, was made a Wakf by Arkam for the benefit of his sons with a condition, that neither shall it be sold nor shall it be a subject of inheritance.
- (j) The same book quotes with approval, from another authoritative book, *Kitab-al-Khilafat* of Baihaki, that "Amr binul-As made a *Wakf* of his houses in Taif, Mecca, Medina for his children, and it still subsists."
- (k) In Kutube, Sittah reports that Ibn-i-Omar says that Omar obtained a piece of land in the Khaiber and requested the Prophet to advise him how to deal with it. The Prophet asked him to make a Wakf of it in such a way that the corpus should remain preserved and not be liable to be sold or inherited, and the benefit should go to the poor, kinsmen, travellers, etc.

In addition to the above instances, a number of authoritative books report the Prophet to have said that if you spend anything on your family and relations, it is good Sadka and the best charity. One or two instances of this may be quoted here:

- (a) Sahih Muslim reports from Jabir that on one occasion the Prophet replied to a questioner that "commence with thyself, i.e., maintain yourself first and so gain Sadka to yourself first, and if surplus remain give it to your Ahl (relations)."
- (b) Tibrani has reported from Abu Imama, that he said about charity, "Whoever maintains himself, this is to him Sadka and whoever maintains his wife and his Ahl (relations) and his children, this to him is Sadka."

The last but the most important instance of Wakf is that made by the Prophet. The Kifayat at page 889, Vol. II, also refers to it. The Wakf was of a garden or Hawaib which exists up to the present day. It is also called Abraham's Wakf.

This is a formidable though by no means an exhaustive list of Wakfs. It shows that Wakfs were made by the Prophet, by his companions, Khalifas Abu Bakar, Omar, Osman, Ali; by other companions of the Prophet, Saad bin Abiwikas, Zubair, Mauz bin Jubl, Syed bin Sabit, Amr bin-ul-As, Abdullah bin Omar, Khalid bin Waleed, Jabier bin Abdullah, Akhal bin Amir, Abu Arwa Dawsaee, Abdullah bin Zubair. A number of prominent women have also made Wakfs, amongst them Ummi Sulma, wife of the Prophet, and Aisha, and her sister Asma, Ummi Habiba, Sufya Hai's daughter.

The men and women, whose names are mentioned above, are well-known persons in the history of Islam. The situation and full description of the properties endowed by them are given by the authors of the traditions after personal enquiries, at the time of writing of those books. These writers have further assured us that those Wakfs were existing at that date. I have no doubt that if these precedents of Wakfs for descendants, together with their authoritative sources and detailed description had been brought to the notice of their Lordships of the Privy Council, their decision would have been of a different type.

It has been pointed out above that the dedication of property for the benefit of one's own descendants is lawful according to the *Hadis* or traditions and *Fikah* or expounded law: and all the sects of Islam are agreed that, under Mohammedan law, *Sadka* or charity is not confined to strangers, and it is considered to be the greatest charity to give to one's own family and descendants.

It is essential to realize with precision what view the Mohammedan lawyers take of the nature of Wakf. Wakf is a kind of Sadka, and we ought therefore to know what Sadka is. Sadka is a particular kind of disposition, which has religious merit, or what we would call Sawab, as the consideration, and which includes both movable and immovable and might consist of the substance or of the profits, and might involve the element of perpetuity or not. Fathul Kadir, page 833, Vol. III, explains the theory of Sawab thus: "the Sawab or the cause of making the Wakf, is the intention of the Wakif to carry out his cherished desire, as regards this world, by giving benefit to the living, and as regards the world to come, by obtaining Takarrub or Sawab from God the Great. The consideration which the giver of Sadka

receives is the Sawab or religious merit. God promises Sawab in future and the Quran lays down that the promise of God is sure to be realized. Verily never does God break his promise. Sadka is thus based on the promise of God's favour in the world hereafter." The motive of Sadka is religious merit. Its recipients may be rich or poor. In Hedaya, line 3, page 199, its is stated, "there is no revocation of the Sadka made on the rich because the object being Sawab has been obtained by its grant." Wakf is a disposition of the nature of Sadka, but with this difference that it is restricted to immovable property, and it involves the element of perpetuity. Therefore Wakf involves the permanent Sadka of the profits.

The word 'object' is sometimes used to indicate the persons for whose benefit the Sadka or Wakf is made, and at other times it is used to indicate the motives which prompted the Sadka or Wakf. The motive is to obtain religious merit, but the religious merit is often transferred from the 'motive' to the 'object'; and then it is asserted that the object of the Wakf should be religious or charitable in the sense that it should be 'pious'.

The 'motive' which prompts a Mohammedan is that God should be pleased with him, and is thus a religious one. Therefore it is religion that enables us to find out what class of persons come within the object of Wakf. This principle is based on the theory that the members of one's own family are also members of the general body of mankind, and consequently to help the members of one's own family is to help humanity in general. and hence it is an act of virtue. Mohammedan law literally follows the English proverb 'charity begins at home'. Thus under Islamic law, the Sadka or charity is not confined to strangers. but may also be given to one's own family or descendants. This charity is thus enjoined by the Quran: "It is not righteousness that you turn your face to the east and the west, but righteousness is of him who believes in God, and the Last Day and the Angels, and the Scriptures and the Prophet; who giveth money for God's sake unto his kindered and unto orphans, and the needy and the strangers, etc." In another place it is stated that "They will ask thee what shall we bestow in charity. Answer, The good which we bestow, let it be given to parents, kindred, orphans, the poor and the stranger."

The following passage occur in the most authentic books

Sahih Bukhari and Sahih Muslim. In the former it is written: "The best of alms is that which is given after the wants of one's own family have been satisfied, and it should be begun from the family." In the latter book it is written: "The Prophet of God said 'in the moneys spent over the Holy wars, ransoming captives, for the poor, and over one's own family, the most meritorious, in the sight of God, is the money spent over one's own family." In both books it is stated: "When a Muslim spends money on his family and does so regarding it as an act of piety, it is charity." Then three other authoritative books, Sahih Tirmizi, Ibn Maja, and Nisai, contain the following message: "To give alms to the poor is only charity, whereas to give alms to relatives is charity as well as discharging one's obligation due to one's kinsmen."

The following passage occurs both in Sahih Bukhari and Sahih Muslim: "The mother of Salma says that she asked the Prophet of God whether God would reward her if she spent money on her sons. The Prophet replied, that she could do so and be assured of the reward." The following traditions are reported, the first in Sahih Bukhari and in Sahih Muslim, the second in the latter: (1) Zainab, wife of Abdullah bin Masaud, says, she heard the Prophet once addressing the women say, "that they should give alms from their jewellery, if they have nothing else, and told her husband to inquire from the Prophet, if she could give alms to him as he was poor. Addullah asked his wife to make that inquiry herself, and so Zainab went to the house of the Prophet; at the door she met another lady who had come to put a similar question. Just then Belal came out of the Prophet's house, and Zainab requested him to put the question on their behalf to the Prophet, which he did. The Prophet asked the names of the women. Belal said one was Zainab, wife of Abdullah, and the other was an Ansari woman. The Prophet said that she will have double reward, one on account of helping a relative and another on account of giving to a poor man." (2) Anas says that when the following verse of the Ouran. "ve will never attain unto true righteousness until ve give in alms that which ye love", was revealed to the Prophet. Abu Talha stood up and said, "if such was the ordinance of God and I prize my Berha estate most of all, I dedicate it to God, expecting a reward and a store hereafter from God." The Prophet

expressed satisfaction at his remarks and said: "I think you should dedicate it for the benefit of your relations."

The Quranic texts and traditions that have been cited above show the Muslim law on the point. But the procedure to regulate it is also to be found in the books of Fikah, those that treat of practical jurisprudence in all its branches. In such books there are special chapters devoted to Wakfs on descendants. If the Mohammedan law did not recognize Wakf on descendants, as is supposed by their Lordships of the Privy Council, there was no necessity of the subject appearing in the books, and a number of detailed rules being provided for the guidance of Mohammedan lawyers. They also prove the actual practice that prevailed in Muslim countries.

In Fatawa Kazikhan, which is a book of great authority, the following passage occurs in the chapter on Wakfs to descendants: "If a man said this land of mine is in alms, and made Wakf of for my children, then the proceeds of the land would go to the children born of him—males and females, sharing equally—and such a Wakf being valid, no one gets the profits except the child born of him, as long as such child is alive, and if no one remains alive in the first generation, the profits will go to the poor."

The Fatawai Alamgiri, a book on Mohammedan law prepared under the command of Emperor Aurangzeb, which is always recognized as a work of high authority, expressly enunciates and emphatically lays down the lawfulness of such Wakfs, giving minute details as to the manner in which they should be created. It contains the following: "... and if he said for my children and my children's and their children's children, mentioning three generations, then the profits of the property shall remain in the family so long as any descendants remain and the poor shall get nothing, until a single member of the family is alive, he and his descendants will get the profit the nearer and more remote being equal in such case." All books on Fikha contain such detailed procedure. I shall mention one more from another authoritative book, Durr-i-Mukhtar, "...and if the generation is also included, it becomes general for all descendants."

The settled policy of the English law for centuries past has been against perpetuities of any kind. Taking their clue from the analogy based on the Muslim law of gift, the Privy Council have declared Wakf for descendants to be invalid only because

it involves perpetuity, and thus infringes the English law. But it ought to be noted that it would be extremely unjust to invalidate an institution simply because it is against notions of public policy entertained by European nations.

Now it is a universally accepted principle that whenever there is—apparently or really—a conflict or an antagonism between the supposed policy of an enactment and its express provision, the duty of the judge is—whether he is in agreement with the supposed policy or not—to give effect to the express provision of the law. Considerations of policy must be confined to questions and points which are not expressly provided for by any rule of law. It is then that justice, equity, good conscience come in, and any consideration of policy can come in only along with them. It is certainly most inequitable that policy, or considerations based on that policy, should be allowed to interfere and even to override the express provisions of the law.

When the British Government assumed the Government of India, every community was promised and secured the enjoyment of their respective laws in matters of religion, inheritance, succession, marriage, and other social and religious institutions, and for these purposes special acts and resolutions were passed. Amongst the institutions and laws secured to the Mohammedans by these acts and regulations in the law of Wakf. Hence it follows that if the rendering of the law, by the Privy Council, is incorrect and against the express provisions of Mohammedan law-books, then it means infringing the promises given by His Majesty's Government to the Mohammedan subjects. The responsibility of the Government of India is enhanced by the fact that if this erroneous interpretation of the law on Wakf was allowed to prevail as the de facto law of the land, then it would be taking away a right from the Mohammedans which has been promised and secured to them so long. Further it will be equal to recognizing that the judgment law is authoritative enough to supersede actual provisions of an existing law.

This law is still correctly administered by Mohammedan judges in Musalman States, such as Hyderabad, Bhopal, Rampore, Bhawalpore, Khairpore, Jaora and others. I hope the Government would not allow an impression to go abroad (sic) that this law of Wakf is correctly and in right spirit administered in those States because the judges there, though barristers.

are Mohammedans. It is true that non-Mohammedans, and alien judges who are made to administer this law, have not got the complete machinery at their disposal to understand the intricacies of the law, and similarly the difficulties in their way of understanding books like the *Hidaya*, *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri* and others are insuperable. It is therefore not surprising to read a passage in the judgment of the Privy Council that *Hidaya* is against the creation of *Wakfs* for descendants. If you throw aside all sentimental objections, and once grasp the fundamental principle that the Mohammedan law of *Wakf* is founded on religious injunction and that a Mohammedan can create a *Wakf* constituting his children and descendants and kindred the immediate recipients of the benefaction, the subject becomes as clear as daylight. It is highly unreasonable that this should be subjected to any test which is absolutely foreign to it.

It is a question worth serious consideration what a far-reaching effect this subversion of the system of the Mohammedan law must have upon the minds of Muslims who are subjects of British Rule, having regard to the patent fact that the other Mohammedan countries mentioned above, as well as the Native States in India, still administer Mohammedan law in its true spirit and in consonance with the sentiments of the people, and uphold the Wakfs that are considered totally invalid in British India.

The Mohammedans are just realizing the severity of this judgment. They feel it so keenly because these institutions of Wakfs have become interwoven with the entire social and religious fabric or the economy of the community and have become inseparable from their inner life. The last decision of the Privy Council has disturbed and, in some cases, ruined a large number of families. The blow of the judgment has been felt throughout India, because resolutions have been passed by all important associations about this subject. The Nadwat-ul-Ulema, a body composed of Moulvis and learned men, has actively interested itself in moving the Government on this subject.

The Mohammedans do not ask for any new rights or favours. They respectfully ask that this state of affairs should be remedied. Its redress can only take place through legislation. There is no other course left. There is no appeal against the judgment of Privy Council. The past precedents and the settled practice

of that body shows a fresh Bench of the said Council does not review or attempt to alter the judgment once passed. Thus the only alternative is to resort to legislation. The Government of India ought to be a little more tolerant on a susceptible subject like this, and restore to the Mohammedans the right that is given to them by their law and religion, which they have enjoyed for so many years and which is still enjoyed not only in other countries but in Native States of India. There are precedents for doing so: the Hindu Wills Act, Native Converts Act, and Succession amongst Native Christians and Eurasians. When the Government has made special provisions for other communities as mentioned above, the Mohammedans have made out a stronger case for Government support.

I trust the Government will support the bill which is shortly going to be introduced in the Supreme Council.

Syed Zahur Ahmed briefly seconded the resolution in Urdu, and it was carried without a single dissent. The Honorary Secretary to the All-India Muslim League then announced that the Third and Fourth Sittings of the League would be held in the *Pandal* on December 30, 1910.

This brought the proceedings of the day to a close.

THIRD SITTING

The third sitting of the League took place, as announced by the Honorary Secretary, in the *Pandal* on December 30, 1910.

The Pandal was tastefully decorated with flowers, while Chinese lanterns were hung about the portico amidst arches and festoons of flowers and foliage. The Pandal was densely crowded, and the dais was overfull. His Highness the Aga Khan arrived punctually and was warmly welcomed by the audience. The programme contained five resolutions, most of them relating to the general improvement of the community and the promotion of Muslim unity.

URDU AS LINGUA FRANCA

The first resolution of the day ran as follows:

The All-India Muslim League deplores the persistent attempts that are being made in various forms to set up what are

called Hindi and Punjabi as the vernaculars of the United Provinces and the Punjab respectively, and to displace Urdu from the position so long occupied by it as the *lingua franca* of India, and having regard to the fact that the preservation of the Urdu language and literature is essential to the general progress of the country, particularly in Northern India, the League hopes and prays that the Government will be pleased to discountenance all such attempts to injure Urdu.

Sheikh Zahur Ahmed, who moved the resolution, spoke as follows:

I have been called upon to address you on a subject which has been for a long time the storm-centre of controversies and which, in its importance and far-reaching consequences, yields to no other questions that are to-day stirring the educated brains of India. It is a problem affecting the whole country and has nothing sectarian about it, as some interested and shortsighted partisans will have us believe.

Gentlemen, few questions have created more bad blood between Hindus and Mohammedans than this unfortunate question of Urdu and Hindi. It has caused many a heartburning, and has done more than anything else to keep the sore raw and festering.

Mr. Chairman, I request you to consider with me most dispassionately the relative claims of Urdu and the so-called Hindi. Ever since the days of Shahjahan, hundreds of years ago, Urdu has been to all intents and purposes the *lingua franca* of India, and has practically occupied the same position in our country as French does in Europe.

There is no gainsaying the fact that Mohammedan domination greatly affected the thought, manner and speech of the great Indian people. During this long course of years and even under British rule, Urdu has established its claim, beyond all dispute, to be the common medium of a very large portion of the Indian population. It has acquired a fixed literary character, and has been considerably enriched by various sources, expanding every day with the growth of human thought. Of late years, a most deplorable feature of the controversy has been to excite racial feeling by identifying the advocate of Hindi with the Hindu population and the advocates of Urdu with the Mohammedans.

This is a most unjustifiable and unwarrantable assumption. Urdu has been the common property of Hindus and Mohammedans. It has been spoken and written quite as well by Hindus as by Mohammedans, and I make bold to say that Urdu has endeared itself through long associations to both the elements of the Indian population. There are many books written in Urdu by Hindu authors, which in their literary excellence compare most favourably with any written by a Mohammedan author. The language is as chaste and pure in the pages of Naseem and Suroor as in those of Meer and Akber.

Sarshar loses nothing by comparison with any other novelist who writes in the same language, and words come quite as hot from his pages as from those of Sharar. In modern periodicals, Adeeb and Zamana, conducted by Hindu editors, rival and in some respects excel the best Urdu journals of the day. Urdu songs and dramas appeal as readily to a Hindu as to a Mohammedan. In educated Hindu homes, most straight-laced and polished Urdu is spoken and lapses are treated as in bad taste. If you go to a college or a school in Bihar, the U.P. and the Punjab you will find the majority of the Hindu students take Persian for their second language—Persian from which Urdu has been largely drawn—and they find the language easy, because most of the words they heard spoken to them when they were crooning babies. Lessons written in Urdu are most readily appreciated by village schoolboys. In a word, it is a cosmopolitan tongue spoken and understood from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin and from the Sutlej to the Gangetic delta, and even in some outlying parts of India.

As far back as 1867, an attempt was made for the first time by an interested clique to assert that so-called Hindi instead of Urdu or Hindustani—call it by whatever name you like—is the lingua franca of India. This small but noisy element had been more or less successful in inducing the Government to pass resolutions in its favour in certain provinces of India. However, it evoked a storm of feeling throughout educated India, because it spelled a serious blow at Urdu, the cherished language of the people.

Much confusion has arisen from the loose employment of the term Urdu and Hindi—and much breath has been wasted in trying to prove that Hindi as spoken in this country is a quite

distinct language from Urdu. It is a great philological error to forget that a language is not distinct from another simply because it can be written in different characters. Urdu is no more Hindi if it is transcribed in Nagari characters nor does it lose its identity if it is written in Roman. Hindi can by no stretch of mercy be called a language in itself, it is rather Urdu degraded and vulgarized. It is a jumble of dialects and there is no such thing as a standard Hindi literature, standard Hindi vernacular and standard spelling—whoever writes it writes it according to his own sweet will and pleasure, and often finds it difficult to read his own writing. If I mistake not, there are seven if not nine ways of writing it. This hopeless confusion of dialects decked in the garb of Nagari, with no settled vocabulary, pronunciation or spelling, is being substituted for Urdu or Hindustani by anxious and devoted bands of patriotic champions. Urdu with its intrinsic superiority, its immense flexibility and power of assimilation, and its advantage of alphabet over Nagari as a vehicle for representing articulate sounds of our language, is to be proscribed in favour of so-called Hindi, because some of our Hindu brothers choose to regard Urdu or Hindustani as a foreign imposition, and because they are anxious to show that they owe nothing to Mohammedan rule. It is quite a mistake to suppose that Urdu is not the language of the country. It is an offspring of languages belonging to the Aryan stock, and thus though not directly, indirectly belongs to the soil. Those who want to resuscitate Sanskritic Nagari, because the sacred books of Vedas are transcribed in it, are only trying to bring an Egyptian mummy to life by constant puffs of human breath, regard less of the fact that it would take quite hundreds of years before their pet language comes to acquire the position now enjoyed by Urdu in India. Raja Shiv Pershad, a staunch advocate of Nagari, in an appendix to the Education Commission report, rightly observes, "Persian words have become our household words which are now used by our women and children and the rustic population as well as the urban. They wanted to use unintelligible and difficult Sanskrit words which often I myself don't understand."

And as to substituting Punjabi for Urdu in the Punjab, it is sufficient to say that the educated class would always prefer a standard language to a provincial dialect. Punjabi has no better

claim than Hindi to be called a language in itself. The leading newspapers, journals, books and pamphlets are all written in Urdu in the Punjab and in the U.P. The Punjab has rendered more service to the cause of Urdu than any other province in India. Delhi, the home of Urdu, is in the Province of the Punjab and it would be a very sad day, indeed, if the birth-place of Mir, Ghalib and Zouque should be vulgarized by that Babylonish jargon, by courtesy, called Punjabi.

One of the oldest charges against Urdu is that it is not suited to the courts of law, for the litigants are mostly illiterate. We ought to realize the fact that technicalities of law cannot be made to suit the bovine mind. If it were not so, Chief Justice Stanely and Justice Knox would have had to undergo a course of study in the rural districts preparatory to any appearance they might make on the Bench.

In vain do our Hindu brethren cry up so-called Hindi and cry down Urdu, since it is evident that their efforts to undermine it are of no avail in practical life. The anti-Urdu movement, I am grieved to think, is nothing but an affront to Mohammedans. However elaborately patriotic advocates of Hindi try to veil their motives, I venture to ask the accredited leaders of our country if this is a move towards the ideals of united India. The Mohammedans are always prepared to meet their Hindu brethren half-way if they work in a spirit of justice, cordial co-operation and amity.

Language is a great unifying factor between any two communities and races. It is language that promotes uniformity of thoughts, ideals and actions. Our common language, Urdu, is the only great bond of unity between the two communities; and if that bond is severed, the communities will be thrown disunited from each other. Now when the spirit of fraternity and unity is in the air, it would be only a retrograde movement if some narrow-minded politicians, by stirring the embers of this futile controversy, for ever render the ideals of a united India unrealizable. I appeal to the sober sense of both the communities to respect each other's rights and privileges, to work in a spirit of a mutual toleration and compromise, and to try their best to sink petty differences in the interest of higher ideals. If we want to be in the vanguard of nations, we have to stand shoulder to shoulder and most zealously maintain any bond of

unity that might be existing between the two great communities.

Gentlemen, I should not like to trespass any further on your patience, and I thank you sincerely for the patient hearing you have given me.

Mr. Mohammad Yakub, in seconding the resolution, pointed out that the existence of the Urdu language was brought about only by the contact of the two great communities and was the after-effect of their unity. Efforts to injure its very existence would be disastrous.

Moulvi Rafiuddin Ahmed supported the resolution, saying that Urdu had been recognized as the queen of vernaculars. It was a camp language, as the name implied, but it was now the language of the Indian merchants and of Indian society. Twentyfive years ago Urdu was the medium of instruction in primary schools in the Bombay Presidency; but to-day Gujrati and Marathi had usurped its place, and it had been relegated to the place of a second language, and that too only in a few schools. He did not desire that the Muslim minority should impose its vernacular on a non-Muslim majority. All that he desired was that Government should give to the vernacular of the minority the same facilities as to the vernaculars of the majority. The Director of Public Instruction in Bombay, in his recent reports had said that Urdu should altogether be excluded from public schools, and Muslims be left to learn Urdu at home as they did their theology. He criticized the Director's statement sharply, and said that they must make a representation to Government on the subject. Urdu was not only the lingua franca of the country, but the queen of languages, and any attempt to dethrone her from her high pedestal would be revolting to Mohammedan susceptibilities. The Chief Commissioner of the Province, he remarked, had yesterday pointed out the unfairness of asking 96.5 per cent of the population to learn Urdu, but their point was that Urdu being their mother tongue the same facilities should be provided for Mohammedans as had been given to others. We don't want favours, he added, but justice.

Mr. Mohammad Ali supported the motion in an eloquent speech. He said that they were on the eve of a new era of peace and goodwill between Hindus and Musalmans, and they were going to Allahabad with open minds in the sincere hope that the

relations of the two great communities of India would be better hereafter than they had hitherto been. It would be foolish for either party to insist on the other signing all the thirty-nine articles of its creed, but both could and should insist on some positive indication of feelings of unity and concord. He regarded the question of Urdu a touchstone of Hindu sincerity. In a land where everything was dissimilar, races and creeds, customs and institutions, modes of thought and action, the one thing common was the lingua franca of the country. Urdu. It was its development and the enrichment of its vocabulary from all possible sources, Arabic, Sanskrit and English, which was the sine qua non of the Indian nationality of the future. Musalmans have no linguistic prejudices. In Persia they preserved and developed Persian. In Turkey they preserved the language of the destroyers of the Abbaside Empire. In India they took up the language from the soil itself and made it their own. Did they bring Urdu from Arabia or Persia or Afghanistan? No, it was in the Indian camp and the market-place that they picked it up, and eighty per cent of the words used in their daily intercourse were such as would have no meaning for an Arab or Persian, or a Turk or an Afghan, and yet he noticed that the one province with which the Musalmans were most intimately connected for a thousand years objected to words of Persian and Arabic origin, branding them as bideshi and foreign. It was as if a banker were throwing into the gutter all gold and silver that bore the stamp of Arabia or Persia. No Hindu banker would throw away pure gold and pure silver simply because the coin was minted in a bideshi mint, and yet the Hindus of the United Provinces and the Punjab were doing what no thrifty Hindu would do in the case of his hoarded wealth. For a community justly renowned and praised for its thrift, this was amazing, but it was a fact. He was present as a visitor and journalist at this year's session of the Congress, and he heard a speech of the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya in what was marked in the programme as Hindi. That speech was wholly unintelligible to the Mohammedans and only partly intelligible to the Hindus of his province. It contained more Sanskrit words than any speech he had ever heard in Guirati and Marathi. These words would have been unintelligible to the Parsis of Gujrat or Bombay who spoke Gujrati. At the same time words of Persian or Arabic origin were rigorously excluded, they had no admission even on business. But a few trespassers crept in and were speedily rejected by Sanskrit translations that had to be forced in as an afterthought. Again he heard a speech which was not only in the programme but delivered at his own request by a Hindu gentleman from Cawnpore in what he called Urdu. In this, not only were the complex concepts worded in Sanskrit, but even its agents were garbed in the ancient garb of Vedic India. A third speech was delivered by a Hindu gentleman from Karachi, and the programme said it was to be delivered in Hindi. In this there were as many words of Arabic and Persian origin as in the most highflown bombast and fustian of an Arabic scholar. When three Hindus in the Congress labelled languages differently, he left it would be absurd to place much credence in the entries of census enumerators. But one thing was certain. In the United Provinces at least, Urdu was being attacked in a deplorable spirit, and in others it was being labelled Hindi. He cared little for the label, but he was much concerned with the article itself; and as he had said before, he regarded the question of Urdu as the touchstone of sincerity and hoped that one of the chief results of the Conference at Allahabad would be the development of Urdu. which was the common heritage of Hindu and Muslim. Speaking as a Musalman he felt that in other provinces too the preservation of Urdu was necessary for Muslim education. Urdu should be the medium of instruction in most of the primary schools for Musalmans in the Bombay Presidency, and in undermining Urdu, its opponents were destroying the only chance which Musalmans had of educating themselves. He remembered a cartoon in the Hindi Punch in which the Hon'ble Moulvi Rafiuddin Ahmed was depicted as a child asking Sir George Clarke for some toys placed on the top of a shelf. He was made to point to a ladder marked education, which he asked the Moulvi to ascend. There was nothing very humorous in the cartoon, but the real situation was intensely humorous; for the reality, though not in the cartoon, the ladder had been removed and hidden awav.

Mr. Ibrahim Rahmutollah of Bombay remarked that the Urdu language was being treated in a stepmotherly way in Bombay Presidency, if not in Bombay town. By quoting figures, he showed that Urdu schools had increased in the town of Bombay

since 1888, when only two Urdu schools existed. He hoped that if energetic people would come forward to help this language, the Mohammedans would make their sister communities feel the significance of their mother tongue.

Mr. Ishaque Ali, in further supporting the resolution, asked the members not to join hands with Hindus at the cost of injuring their mother tongue.

The resolution was put to the vote and unanimously adopted.

MUSALMAN ENDOWMENTS

The next resolution was of vital importance to the progress of the community and it ran as follows:

The All-India Muslim League respectfully reiterates its prayer that the Government may be pleased to institute a thorough inquiry into the general purposes and manner of administration of existing Musalman endowments designed mainly for the public benefit.

The above resolution was ably moved in an eloquent speech by Syed Shumsul Huda. He gave instances from his experience in Bengal to show how such endowments were mismanaged, either through incompetence or dishonesty of the trustees, and urged that this should no longer be permitted. Urging the Government to hold an enquiry on the subject, he deplored the fact that though a blue-book had been issued containing Wakf names, no other step had been taken.

Mr. Mohammad Ali seconded the proposition. He said, "You would question the necessity of passing the resolutions. Well, if my pocket is picked I will hasten to send the man to jail; but if endowments are being misappropriated we would not care to bring trustees to account. It is a matter of great concern that we do not even know where endowments exist, and who manages them." He referred to his own experience in connection with Wakfs in Rander, a sub-division of Surat. He eulogised the sympathy of H.E. the Governor of Bombay in the matter, and of Mr. Anderson, the Collector of Surat, who showed a keen interest in his effort to unearth a Wakf of about Rs. 33 lakhs. He described the difficulty he had to encounter; and he

found that not only the public, but the Collector of Surat himself knew nothing of such a large endowment, for it was given to him to bring it to their notice. Nobody knew the amount of the Wakf property. One estimate placed it at Rs. 11, another at Rs. 7 and third at Rs. 33 lakhs. Under the circumstances, it was necessary to request Government to hold an enquiry, as the League had repeatedly asked, and to request Government to cause it to be prepared in every district and maintained as a record open to public inspection.

Sahebzada Aftab Ahmed Khan briefly supported the resolution, after which it was put to the vote and unanimously carried.

PRIMARY EDUCATION

The next resolution was moved by Mr. Fazalbhoy Currimbhoy Ebrahim, and ran as follows:

The All-India Muslim League is of opinion that the time has arrived when a beginning, however modest, should be made in the direction of making primary education free and gradually compulsory throughout the country, and for this purpose respectfully suggests that experiments should be made in selected areas.

In proposing the resolution, Mr. Fazalbhoy said:

The proposition that has been entrusted to my care deals with the vast and complex subject of primary education. It has been a subject of never-ending discussion and has formed a chief plank in the writings and speeches of Indian publicists. It involves several grave and far-reaching issues, and true statesmanship demands that the subject should be looked at not from one side only: in order to arrive at a correct understanding of it, we must have a complete treatment of the question in its various aspects. In the first place, it is necessary that you should draw a line between impatient idealism and the sphere of practical administration. If we mistake the wood for the tree, we should be lost. I am glad that the Muslim League recognized the need of caution in this matter of vital importance to the well-being of the millions of people in this country; and the proposition

that has been placed in my hand is reasonable, though I believe it should have been so worded as to make it comprehensive and effective by directly touching the main issue.

Lord Curzon in one of his speeches, had admitted that one of the first claims upon its bounty that Government would do well to acknowledge will be the education of the masses. He further admitted that it cannot be a right thing that three out of four villages should be without a school, and not much more than 300,000 boys, or less than one-fifth of the total boys of school-going age, should be in receipt of primary education. He even went so far as to assert that he was one of those who thought that Government had not fulfilled its duty in this respect. Ever since the cold breath of Macaulay's rhetoric passed over the field of the Indian languages and Indian textbooks, the elementary education of the people in their own tongues had shrivelled and pined. Lord Curzon condemned the policy and characterized it as a mistake. The fact that three out of every four Indian boys grow up without education is significant in itself, and it is high time that this most unsatisfactory and lamentable state of things is remedied with the least possible delay. The idea of free primary education is not a new one or sprung upon Government all of a sudden. As far back as 1882, the Education Commission made a recommendation to the effect that an attempt should be made to secure the fullest possible provision for an expansion of primary education by legislation suited to the circumstances of each province. Nearly 30 years have since passed by, and the Government are in the same state of unpreparedness as they were then. The strongest argument that can be produced in favour of the proposition is that, as pointed out by Sir Fredrick Lely four years ago, the Government were in favour of introducing the system of free and compulsory universal education, but recent official pronouncements show that we are still as far removed from that ideal as we were ever before. There is little doubt that much of the agrarian discontent and suffering prevalent among the masses, and social miseries that hedge round simple and superstitious folk, are due to ignorance; and no nation can ever hope to thrive in ignorance.

Education must be acknowledged as a charge on revenues and a State duty, and the State should accept full responsibility.

Education is a vital power for the rise of nations; and it is acknowledged by the best administrators that in India education is the most clamant necessity of all, because it is the key to employment or improvement in different stations of life. Although, as I said, the Government themselves were in favour of the proposal, we do not wish to embarrass them by any ultraradical programme. Even my esteemed friend the Hon'ble Gokhale did not ask, when he moved his famous resolution in the Viceregal Council in March last, supported by his eloquence and convincing facts, that elementary education should be made compulsory at once throughout India, nor did he demand that it should be made free at once throughout the country. What we at present want is that a comprehensive and definite scheme may be formulated and clarified; that a beginning should be made in selected and most suitable areas, at the discretion of the Government or according to demands from the residents, towards the laudable direction of making education free and useful and practical to children; and that the policy should be rigorously but judiciously followed up till every child that should be at school is there. If any district declares itself ripe for the experiment, the Government should not withhold its consent to introducing the principle of free and compulsory primary education.

One is grieved to find that financial considerations are put forward as a set-back against the principle of free education. The Government incur an expenditure of about Rs. 1,36,00,000 for primary education. A few years ago the expenditure was much smaller than it is to-day. For be it from me to deprecate what Government has already done during recent years in the way of increasing the expenditure on this head. While I greatly appreciate what they have done, I emphatically state that they have not gone to the extent of the country's requirements or their responsibilities in the matter. During the last few years, they have increased their military expenditure by over Rs. 13 crore, while civil expenditure has gone up by Rs. 8 crore. The expenditure on railways, post and telegraphs has also increased by leaps and bounds. The land revenue has advanced by Rs. 8 crore. A good portion of it ought to have gone towards the education of the children of those who toil at the plough. Yet, during the same period, the expenditure on education has increased by only a little over Rs. 50,000. Even Japan spends over Rs. 5 crore on primary education. What the Indian Government has done in regard to this question is very little indeed compared with what has been done with highly beneficial result by other civilized states during the last thirty or forty years. The condition of our agriculturists who swell the coffers of Government is most deplorable; they are steeped in ignorance which militates against their emancipation.

Again, the Government should never for a moment forget the moral and economic aspect of the question. As a German professor has pointed out, general education is the foundation and necessary antecedent of increased economic activity in all branches of national production: in agriculture, small industries, manufactures and commerce. The rapid growth and progress of civilized countries in regard to their manufactures was due to the scientific training of the proprietors and to elementary education among the masses. Those countries that have made primary education universal and practical have richly benefitted thereby. India has fallen into the key (sic) of international competition, and she cannot afford to stand still, much less to recede. It is time that Government prepare their programme before it is too late.

As I have remarked above, the proposition could have been more pointed and attractive. For while no one disputes the benefit of popular education, everything depends upon the real meaning of it. We are painfully reminded of the backwardness of our industrial progress, which is handicapped by the absence of diffused education of the right sort. It is no use putting up schools which are no better than the old hedge-schools with illtrained teachers and a defective or ill-suited course of studies. We should not content ourselves by making primary education free and gradually compulsory; we must ask the Government first of all to lay down a definite line of policy in regard to this question, and we must as emphatically insist upon the necessity of a system of primary instruction suited to the needs of the recipients in different stations of life. British institutions in the East have in reality not proved as efficient as they are in the West; but even in Great Britain primary education is not free from defects. In the March number of Blackwood's Magazine, Mr. Charles Whibley, in criticizing the system of primary

instruction in Britain, wrote as follows: "The State having assumed the complete responsibility of the schools does not wish that each citizen should grow up capable of doing his own work well. It has no desire to make good labourers or artisans, its one ideal is a half-competent clerk who has many smatterings and no real knowledge."

We should take care to escape from the sway of similar false ideals, especially when the economic and industrial era is drawing upon India. Our system of primary education should be so devised as to spare the waste of effort, secure efficiency and prevent the recipients of instruction from drifting away from the true path. The point was vigorously emphasized by our revered and eminent leader, H.H. the Aga Khan, in his address at the last meeting of this League held at Delhi. He said that our aim should be to secure to the next generation of agriculturists and artisans the fruit of their industry. Primary education should aim at being complete in itself upto a point, which shall make the sons of farmers and operatives better farmers and better operatives, at the same time leaving wide open the avenue to higher walks of life to those who have the means and abilities to follow it. This aim has, unfortunately, been lost sight of in India; and I am convinced that the full consideration of the end of primary education is as essential as the wider diffusion of it. India has long suffered from paucity of skilled labour, which is so very necessary for its economic and industrial advancement. This is due to lack of suitable primary education, which has failed to keep pace with the needs of the time of the country, and it has therefore fallen behind in the economic race which is going on in the civilized countries of the world.

As to compulsion, I think even if you make education free, its advantage will not be taken fully until some kind of compulsion is applied, as the masses do not yet appreciate the value of education and the blessings attendant thereon. We do not want a revolutionary policy, but a policy which should slowly broaden down from precedent to precedent. I think that at this critical period it is advisable to refrain from taking any steps which may lead to any friction or irritation. We must gradually prepare the way for it by co-operation with the Government and creating a public opinion in its favour. In no country is it so very necessary as in India to move on the lines of least resistance, as nowhere

are the intentions of Government more liable to misrepresentation and misinterpretation than in a conservative country like India. I am therefore pleased to note that the League is quite conscious of this difficulty that besets the path of the Government, and rightly uses the words 'gradually compulsory' in the resolution. We can best carry into practice the principle of the wider diffusion of mass education in the first place by adopting and vigorously working the policy for persuasion and the provision of increased facilities of suitable elementary education. I am, however, free to admit that this is no reason why we should not press our views on the Government. The wheels of the State coach move ever so slowly specially when considerations of finance are involved. I will give only one instance to convince you of the dilatory attitude on the part of the Government in the matter. In 1906 when the finances of the Government of India were in a much more prosperous condition (it was a period of large surpluses), the Hon. Mr. Gokhale suggested in the Viceregal Council that the fees in primary schools should be remitted. By this means it was hoped not only to give a remission of taxation, but also to give a stimulus to primary education. The proposal was put to local governments in 1906, and a despatch embodying their view was published only a few months ago after a lapse of nearly four years!

Perhaps the great stumbling block in the way of the Government consists of the sinews of war, but we can boldly assert that no subject calls more loudly for heavier expenditure than that of primary education. On the right solution of primary education depends the future of India. Ignorance and poverty are twins: they are inseparably co-related to each other. Education is of course costly, but ignorance is more so; and however poor the country, it cannot refuse even to be further taxed for the purpose of education. We had a magnificent instance of the Mohammedans of Sind offering to be voluntarily taxed to obtain educational facilities. A Government that can afford to wipe off the opium revenue of Rs. 5 crore per annum, to satisfy the conscience of sentimentalists in England; a Government that allows the imposition, however reluctantly, of a countervailing excise duty on cloth made in India, in the interest of Lancashire; a Government which imposes duty on silver, when the principal industry of the country is passing through a grave crisis; a

Government which spends millions of rupees on military and civil charges, can certainly find means for the expansion of educational facilities, if it only once lays down a definite policy and follows it perseveringly and vigorously in spite of the vicissitudes of time. The Hon. Mr. Orange struck a keynote of the situation when he said in the Viceregal Council in March last that "the question of the cost of a great system of popular education has not yet been faced, but the expenditure has been increased from time to time according to the possibilities of the moment. The next stage which we should endeavour to reach is one in which the increase of our expenditure will become less a matter of chance and more a matter of calculation, that we may put before ourselves some defined standard up to which we may hope, within reasonable and a not too distant limit of time, to arrive in diffusion of educational facilities, and that the provision of the funds required become part of a settled financial policy. Such expenditure will in the end not be entirely unproductive." If that stage has not already passed, I think the time has certainly arrived for some defined standard and a settled financial policy to be fixed. We want the stiffening of the moral backbone of our youth; we want him to take his natural position in the industrial and agricultural world with a minimum of inconvenience and maximum of prosperity; and the ideal cannot be achieved when the rising generations are innocent of even elementary instruction.

I have not got the statistics of the whole of India; but in the Bombay Presidency, out of 25,000 villages, about 18,000 are without any kind of school. The Government have in recent years nearly doubled the expenditure on primary education and they have made a liberal provision for opening about 500 new schools every year. The supply of primary schools in the Presidency is yet far below the demand; and the authorities believe that if an extension of facilities were possible, the opening of the new schools would be followed by a substantial increase in the number of pupils and about 1,00,000 pupils would forthwith be added without any kind of compulsion or even persuasion. But there is a paucity of trained and sufficiently remunerated teachers; the provision of accommodation is small. While these conditions exist, the Government—in absence of larger doles from the Imperial Exchequer—are reluctant to remit the fees, which they

think should go towards strengthening the existing institutions, providing schools where they do not exist, supplying trained and adequately remunerated teachers, and making a liberal provision for scholarships to children of indigent parents. It is argued by apologists of Government that to remit fees would be to arrest progress, so long as there are unsolved factors which militate against making primary education universal. The apathy of the masses to education, the scarcity of trained teachers and provision of buildings and the financial aspects are prime factors in the situation. Attention should first be directed to surmount these difficulties. At the same time, it is absolutely essential that with quantity we should look to the quality of our educational product; and efforts should, in the first place, be directed to recruiting new material for the teaching staff of the quality that is desirable. I am glad the improvement of the salaries and prospects of teachers are inducing better men to come forward to join their ranks.

I must confess that the plea that the lack of funds is responsible for the scarcity of educational facilities is, to my mind, incomprehensible. I think the plea ought never to be put forward by the Government. Though India is poor, it is not too poor to pay for her children's education. There are many sources of revenue which could be derived by imposing certain taxation without making the taxpayer in any way feel the additional burden. If a policy of judicious retrenchment were followed in regard to the present overgrown and ever-growing charges for the military services and civil departments, it would result in substantial reductions which must go towards the education of youth. Our goal must be the formation of a definite policy aiming at making primary education general in the first instance, then free and compulsory when a certain stage it reached. We have heard a great deal about the parents' apathy, their non-appreciation of the value of education, and their reluctance to throw away the advantage of the wage-earning power of their children. There is really some force in that. The economic and other natural difficulties do exist, but they are not insurmountable. When the pernicious and barbarous custom of Sutee and infanticide were suppressed by penal enactments, there was a hue and cry raised in India; but British statesmanship triumphed over deep-seated prejudices, so much so that if the same customs were revived

today they would be denounced by the very orthodox people as monstrous and barbarous. If the people are made to understand that they will remain impecunious as long as they are illiterate, the only stimulus wanting to avail themselves of instruction will be the provision of educational facilities. As I have said, there is need of co-operation and self-help to stimulate and crown with success the efforts of the Government. I am fairly of opinion that more than Government help, what India wants is such an example of self-help and sacrifice on the part of the people themselves. However great the odds, I am firmly of opinion that we are bound to triumph in the end in the cause of universal education in India.

Gentlemen, our community has not taken its proper place in the education of modern India, though in the past it was renowned for learning and enlightenment. We have lagged behind in commerce and manufacture and arts of peace owing to lack of education. Of late the Government has given a great fillip to the educational movement, they have provided facilities for industrial education. But I have noticed with pain that so far the Mohammedans have made scarcely any use of the increased facilities for such studies as have a direct bearing on the development of Indian industries. Syed Ameer Ali referred to this shortcoming in plain terms in his address last year, when he urged that special efforts should be made to create scholarships for Mohammedan students proceeding to Europe, America and Japan for technical studies. You will all be pleased to know that the Mohammedans of India have resolved to found such scholarships bearing the name of H.H. the Aga Khan and Syed Ameer Ali to commemorate their eminent and enduring services to the community. I hope the community will establish many such scholarships. Again, I think that the people's goodwill and co-operation and example of self-help are much needed in this matter, and will do much more good than a hundred penal enactments. We must hold before us the noble lead which Scotland and Wales have furnished in the matter; and our people would do well if they were to study and profit by the conditions prevailing in those countries, where people have provided themselves with a good system of education—not mainly by the help of Government or of rich men, but by the self-sacrifices of the working classes, small agriculturists and others, all of whom gave as best they could. If the same sense of self-sacrifice, and the same noble spirit is aroused in our people, the future will tell a different tale of our advancement in the scale of civilization and in our moral and material welfare. With these remarks, I beg to propose the resolution which stands in my name.

Sheikh Zahur Ahmed seconded the resolution in Urdu, and in doing so observed that after the able and luminous exposition of the subject by Mr. Fazalbhoy, little was left for him to add. It was a matter of regret, he said, that of all the countries of the world which claimed to be civilized India should be the most backward in the matter of universal education. The ignorance of the masses was the greatest impediment in the progress of all reform, and as long as the Government and the people of India did not co-operate in the diffusion of education, the attempts to ameliorate the wretched condition of the lower strata of our society would always end in failure. Reform it is said, he further observed, should come from the people and cannot be imposed upon them. Our agriculture and the allied industries on which depends the prosperity of our country are suffering to a great extent from the inability of ignorant cultivators to understand the possibilities of the labour-saving machinery of the West. The attempts that have hitherto been made to popularize education among the people have failed as the majority of them are unaware of its blessings. Hence a generous and far-seeing Government should have no hesitation in using a little coercion in making primary education free and compulsory, so that the people may be able to appreciate the blessings of civilization and give up their deep-rooted prejudices, which stand so much in the way of progress, of social and moral reform.

Mr. Ibrahim Rahmutollah, supporting the proposition, observed that he had devoted some years to the subject, because Musalmans were backward in education, and their awakening, which was reflected in the Conference and in the League, was delayed. If they desired to produce a united nation, then the masses should be educated. For national progress and national unity, and for the economic and social regeneration of the people, the masses should be trained at any cost and at any sacrifice. Education would solve many difficult problems which were taxing the country's best brains. He was glad to see many members of the Bombay Corporation present at the meeting, and he

hoped they would support him in his endeavours to make education free in Bombay, and gain Bombay the credit of giving a lead in this much desired reform. It was a mistake to suppose that the time was not ripe for the introduction of free and compulsory education. He instanced Baroda which had made a beginning in free and compulsory education and where the experiment had proved so successful that the enlightened ruler of that State had extended the system to all parts of his dominions. He added that Indians were ready to pay more taxes for the development of free education, for they thought it high time to make a beginning.

Haji Yusuf Haji Ismail, further supporting the resolution, remarked that Musalmans needed compulsion more than the sister communities, and he was sure that the Mohammedans would give their hearty support to the scheme. He also observed that girls should be the first to be taken care of. On the position of women, he said "we have rendered half of our population useless, nay, not only useless but mischievously useless, because they actually hinder progress instead of helping to promote it." The time has come, he concluded, when the position of girls should be radically altered, and he hoped that his coreligionists would see eye to eye with him.

Mr. Shamsul Huda opposed the resolution on a point of principle. He thought that reforms should not be thrust upon people, but be the result of systematic evolution. In launching this scheme, he said, we would be undertaking huge financial responsibilities for which our Exchequer is not prepared. When free and compulsory education was launched in England, 43 per cent of school-age children were already in school, while in Japan 28 per cent attended school before the introduction of the system: but in India only 1.9 per cent were now under instruction. Besides this, he feared the agricultural class would be greatly injured by the scheme. If the system had proved a success in Baroda, it was due to the fact that the ruler and the ruled were one and the same, while the case was different in British India. In British India the good intentions of a foreign Government were likely to be misinterpreted. He was afraid people would put a different construction on the introduction of the system of compulsory education by Government.

Mr. Mohammad Ali, replying to Mr. Shamsul Huda, said

that the question of finances was after all a minor one. It was recently shown that if England went to war she would spend 500 millions if she won, and 1,500 millions if she lost, and yet who could say she would hesitate on that account, if her existence and honour were concerned? Want of funds seldom prevented war, nor could India be without peaceful progress for want of a million or two where her honour and her very existence as a civilized land were at stake. The real issue was the recognition of education as involving the people's honour and their very existence.

A more important question was that of compulsion; it was said that things could not be forced down the throats of unwilling people, That was an argument better appreciated by all in their school-days; yet nobody took a plebiscite of schoolboys about school attendance. Nobody suggested a referendum on the question of school holidays. The Government of India would have no claims to the name of a civilized and civilizing Government, if it had not abolished infanticide and human sacrifice against the wishes of those that cherished them even as religious duties. We were told that we had to consider the ryot. It was a question of his daily bread. Yes, it was for a half feed to-day. He will have to starve to-morrow, he said, if we do not educate his progeny to-day. It was no use talking of hypothetical difficulties and conjecture evils when compulsory and free education was already established in Baroda. Paucity of funds did not prevent the great ruler of Baroda from making education free. The needs and feelings of the ryots did not prevent him from making it compulsory. The speaker then gave details of the generous exceptions made and the convenient school hours and holidays arranged for agriculturists and the poor. He said that to talk of such difficulties was to presume that the administrators would work out the details senselessly or with sheer carelessness.

We were told that analogies were misleading. The ruler of Baroda was an Indian and our Government foreign. He deprecated the use of that word and left sure that a government was foreign only if it alienated the sympathies of the best of its subjects. In making education compulsory and free, Government would win the sympathy and active support of the best in the land, whereas procrastination would be fraught with grave danger. The speaker thought that Government would make its good

intentions perfectly clear by supporting the leaders of Hindus and Musalmans in this matter. The best form of freedom, Mr. Mohammad Ali concluded, is free education, and the most pleasing compulsory education.

The resolution was then put to the vote, and carried with a single dissent.

ELECTIONS

On the motion of Mr. Fazalbhoy Currimbhoy, Khan Bahadur H.M. Malak and Moulvi Rafiuddin Ahmed, the following were elected Vice-Presidents of the All-India Muslim League: Syed Nabiullah, M.A., LL.M., of Lucknow, Raja Naushad Ali Khan of Lucknow, and Hazikul-Mulk Hakim Mohammad Ajmal Khan of Delhi.

This brought the proceedings of the morning session to close.

FOURTH SITTING

The afternoon's sitting opened at 2-30 p.m.; and His Highness the Aga Khan was loudly cheered on his arrival.

EMPLOYMENT IN PUBLIC SERVICES

The first resolution of this final sitting was moved by Moulvi Mohammad Aziz Mirza, Honorary Secretary, All-India Muslim League; and ran as follows:

In view of the necessity and importance, under the existing circumstances of India, of each community being duly represented in the administration, the All-India Muslim League reiterates its resolution of last year that the number of Mohammedans employed in the various branches of the public service is absolutely inadequate, and strongly urges the Government to give the Mohammedan community that share in the public service to which it is entitled by reason of its importance and numerical strength, the League being of opinion that a sufficient number of qualified Mohammedans is available for the purpose.

In moving the resolution Moulvi Mohammad Aziz Mirza delivered a speech in Urdu, of which an abstract follows:

In the early days of the British occupation of India, Mohammedans occupied almost all the principal judicial and executive appointments, and a knowledge of oriental classics was deemed to be a sine qua non for high office. At first Persian and then Urdu became the court language, but gradually a knowledge of English became necessary for employment under Government, and the result was that the place of Mohammedans was occupied gradually by members of other communities. The Mohammedans were for a long time under the impression that Western culture would undermine their religious beliefs, while other communities, having no such prejudices, took full advantage of the educational facilities provided by a liberal Government. Consequently, the Mohammedans were rapidly ousted from the position occupied by them in the administration. Thanks to the selfsacrificing labours of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and the foundation of the Aligarh College, there was a general awakening among the community; but the progress made by the other communities had been so rapid that when the Muslims woke up from the lethargic sleep of a century, they found the doors of Government service practically closed to them. Though the Mohammedan community, as a result of this general awakening, has made rapid strides in Western culture and can now boast of men well-qualified to occupy the highest posts open to Indians, with credit to themselves and benefit to Government, they are still looked upon as a backward community and their proper share in the administration is still denied to them.

Let us throw a cursory glance at the position which we at present occupy in the public service of the country. The population of British India, leaving out Ajmere, the Andamans, Baluchistan, Burma, Coorg and the North-West Frontier Province, is 218,292,989, and of this 51,138,248 are Mohammedans, i.e., Muslims constitute a quarter of the total population. From this it will appear that even if we leave other considerations aside, we are at least entitled to a fourth share in the public service of the country on our bare numerical strength, although this is hardly a fair test. Now we will proceed to see whether we at present enjoy our proper share even in this respect. On looking at the various civil lists, we find that in the different provinces of India, there are 1,182 Deputy Collectors, out of whom 270 are Mohammedans; 287 Sub-Judges, out of whom

only 28 are Muslims; 718 Munsifs, out of whom only 80 are Mohammedans; 160 Deputy Superintendents of Police, out of whom 50 are Mohammedans; out of 297 Superintendents of Post Offices and Postmasters, only 33 are Mohammedans; out of 238 Officers in the Provincial Educational Service, only 29 are Mohammedans; the total number of Tahsildars is 1,142, out of whom 238 are Mohammedans; out of 491 Assistant Surgeons, only 65 are Mohammedans; and out of 149 Engineers in the provincial grades, only 5 are Mohammedans. A study of these figures will show that only in the revenue and police services do the Mohammedans occupy their bare numerical proportion, while in the other branches of the administration they are nowwhere. As regards the medical and engineering branches of public service, there would appear to be but little cause for complaint, as our community has never taken kindly to professional education; but as regards the other departments no such objections exist, for the community can now produce a number of educated men who are in every respect well-qualified to take their proper share in the administration.

After dealing with British India as a whole, we will now proceed to see how we stand in the various provinces. Let us first take the United Provinces, where the Mohammedans occupy an acknowledged position of great historical importance, and we find that the total population is 47,691,782, out of which the Muslims number 6,731,134. Out of 219 Deputy Collectors there are 82 Mohammedans; out of 101 Munsifs, 21 are Mohammedans; out of 35 Sub-Judges, 10 are Mohammedans; out of 28 Deputy Superintendents of Police, 12 are Mohammedans; out of 68 Superintendents of Post Offices and Postmasters, 4 are Mohammedans; out of 31 Educational Officers, 3 are Mohammedans; out of 213 Tahsildars 16 are Mohammedans; out of 95 Assistant Surgeons, 9 are Mohammedans; and out of 22 Engineers, 2 are Mohammedans.

We will next go to the Punjab, where the Muslim population exceeds the total of all other communities, the total population being 20,390,329 out of which 10,825,698 are Mohammedans. We find that out of 114 Deputy Collectors, 47 are Mohammedans; out of 90 Munsifs, 31 are Mohammedans; out of 24 Sub-Judges, 12 are Mohammedans; out of 26 Deputy Superintendents of Police, 13 are Mohammedans; out of 99 Superin-

tendents of Post Offices, 18 are Mohammedans; out of 33 Educational Officers, 8 are Mohammedans; out of 131 Tahsildars, 43 are Mohammedans; out of 86 Assistant Surgeons, 19 are Mohammedans; out of 32 Engineers, only 3 are Mohammedans. This shows that even in this Province, where Mohammedans have also made considerable progress in education, they do not occupy, even in the executive services for which they are acknowledged to be peculiarly well-fitted, their bare numerical proportion.

Now we will go to Eastern Bengal, where the Muslim population is more than two-thirds of the total population. We find that out of 193 Deputy Collectors, 42 are Mohammedans; out of 145 Munsifs, 75 are Mohammedans; out of 13 Sub-Judges, only one is a Mohammedan; out of 12 Deputy Superintendents of Police, 4 are Mohammedans; out of 19 Superintendents of Post Offices, 2 are Mohammedans; out of 42 Educational Officers, 2 are Mohammedans; out of 136 Sub-Deputy, Collectors, 36 are Mohammedans; out of 55 Assistant Surgeons, 3 are Mohammedans; and out of 4 Engineers in the Provincial Service, none is a Mohammedan.

Deplorable as is the condition in almost all the provinces, we are worst off in the Presidency of Bombay. The total population of the Bombay Presidency is 18,559,561, out of which 3,760,175, or nearly 20 per cent, are Mohammedans. Leaving all other considerations aside, we are entitled to one-fifth of the posts on our bare numerical proportion. But we find that out of 82 Deputy Collectors, only 9 are Mohammedans; out of 116 Sub-Judges only 2 are Mohammedans; out of 34 Deputy Superintendents of Police 8 are Mohammedans; out of 33 Superintendents of Post, Offices only 2 are Mohammedans; out of 195 Mamlatdars only 3 are Mohammedans; out of 52 Assistant Surgeons, only one is a Mohammedan; and out of 19 Engineers in the Provincial Service, none is a Mohammedan.

This is indeed a record, although the Mohammedans, in spite of their backwardness, have produced at least 100 graduates from the Bombay University alone; and if we take into account others who have graduated from other universities, their number is not likely to be less than 150. Can we ask the Bombay Government, which always professes great sympathy for the Musalmans and in no measured terms deplores the want of

properly qualified candidates in the Muslim community, to how many persons out of these 150 graduates they have succeeded in giving employment in consonance with their qualifications?

If we compare the treatment meted out to us in the Bombay Presidency with the position we occupy in the Central Provinces and the Madras Presidency, where the Muslims are few and far between and even educationally are no better off than in the Bombay Presidency, the result will be still more disappointing. In the Madras Presidency, out of 78 Deputy Collectors, 7 are Mohammedans; out of 138 Munsifs and Sub-Judges, one is a Mohammedan; out of 29 Deputy Superintendents of Police, 4 are Mohammedans; out of 36 Superintendents of Post Offices, 4 are Mohammedans; out of 38 Educational Officers, 3 are Mohammedans; out of 169 Tahsildars, 11 are Mohammedans; out of 35 Assistant Surgeons, 2 are Mohammedans; but none of the 4 Engineers is a Mohammedan.

In the Central Provinces, out of 106 Deputy Collectors, 24 are Mohammedans; out of 131 Munsifs and Sub-Judges, 6 are Mohammedans; out of 12 Deputy Superintendents of Police, 3 are Mohammedans; out of 9 Superintendents of Post Offices, one is a Mohammedan; out of 14 Educational Officers, one is a Mohammedan; out of 90 Tahsildars, 16 are Mohammedans; but there is no Mohammedan Assistant Surgeon or Engineer in the Provinces.

These figures speak for themselves and require no comment.

No doubt the Government is very sympathetic to us, and whenever we approach it, orders are issued to the provincial administrations to do justice to our claims; but past experience shows that unless persistent efforts are made nothing is likely to be done. It is often said that the Mohammedans claim special treatment, but when it has been proved to you that we do not occupy even our bare proportion in the public service of the country, and that there is no dearth of well-qualified candidates amongst us, there can be no doubt that we are seeking for justice and not favouritism. We do not want to lower the standard of service; our only claim is that so long as we do not occupy our proper share in the service of the country, our candidates possessing the minimum qualifications for Government service should have preference over those of other communities. This is the only favour we ask for. Is it too much to hope that a just

and benevolent Government, like ours, will lend a willing ear to it?

Prince Ghulam Mohammad of Calcutta, in a brief but foroible speech, seconded the resolution, which was unanimously carried.

OFFICES FOR THE RULING FAMILIES

The next resolution ran as follows:

The All-India Muslim League earnestly hopes that now that the highest offices in the State have been thrown open to Indians, Government should give them a greater share in the defence of their country by appointing the younger sons of Ruling Chiefs and the scions of other noble houses, after receiving proper training in the Imperial Cadet Corps, to the higher posts in the British Army to which persons of British birth only are now eligible.

Syed Wazir Hasan, in proposing the resolution, referred to the necessity of those who had a stake in the country to take part in its defence. At the same time, an honourable career would be opened for the nobility who at present had no opportunity of serving the country and of giving practical proof of their attachment to the Crown.

Raja Naushad Ali Khan, seconding the resolution, remarked: The racial barrier thus imposed on the sons of noble houses is really more keenly felt by the Ruling Chiefs than by us; and the Ruling Chiefs, if they had been as free as we are, I am sure, would have made a very strong case in support of this resolution. The intensity of the feeling due to this racial barrier can be better imagined than described.

I would respectfully but forcibly urge on the Government to consider this question favourably and to remove this barrier. I would also very strongly suggest that the Chief's Colleges and the Colvin's Talukdar School of Lucknow ought to be recognized as suitable recruiting grounds for the Imperial Cadet Corps, who should be given Commissions in the Army freely. In this connection let us hope Dehra Dun, the headquarters of the Imperial Cadet Corps, will become the future Sandhurst of India.

The resolution was put to the vote, and carried unanimously.

INDIANS IN TRANSVAAL

The afternoon's third resolution, relating to the treatment of Indians in the Transvaal, ran as follows:

The All-India Muslim League reiterates its admiration of the intense patriotism, courage and self-sacrifice of the Indians in the Transvaal who are heroically suffering persecution in the interests of their mother country, and appeals to all Indian Musalmans to help the cause of Indians in the Colonies with funds and in other ways.

The League most respectfully and earnestly urges upon the Government the necessity of its exercising the power recently conferred by the Legislature to prohibit the indenture of Indian labour for the South African Union, as a matter of retaliation, so long as any South African Colony adheres to the present selfish policy and denies to His Majesty's Indian subjects their just rights as citizens of the Empire.

The League protests against the unrighteous and barbarous treatment of Indian immigrants in British Colonies and Dependencies, and draws the attention of the Indian and Imperial Governments to the grave consequences of permitting these dominions of the King to enforce regulations and legislative enactments based on racial distinctions, which are humiliating to His Majesty's Indian subjects, and earnestly appeals to the Imperial Government to assert its undoubted supremacy in matters of Imperial importance, and to secure for the Indian subjects of the British Crown the full rights and privileges of British citizenship by the removal of such racial distinctions within the Empire.

The resolution was moved by Mr. Yakub Hasan of Madras, who recounted the sufferings of Indians in the Transvaal and other Colonies. He specially referred to the new weapon of deportation brought into use by the Colonial Government and the untold hardships to which the poor deportees were put. He expressed the hope that with the advent of the South African Union, better days were in store for the poor, helpless Indian emigrants.

After being briefly seconded by Syed Raza Ali, the resolution was carried unanimously amidst great enthusiasm.

COMPETITIVE EXAMINATIONS

Nawab Nasirul-Mumalik Khan Bahadur Mirza Shujaat Ali Beg then proposed the following resolution:

The All-India Muslim League is of opinion that the reduction of the age-limit at the competitive examination for the I.C.S., by one year with a corresponding increase in the period of probation in England, will prove detrimental to the interests of the Indian candidates for Civil Service, and the League respectfully urges the Government to reconsider the alteration.

He referred to the difficulties which the Indians had to undergo in competing for the Civil Service Examination even when the age-limit was 23 years, and said that any reduction in it would be likely to neutralize even the meagre chance the Indians had of serving their country in the highest branches of administration. The age-limit had been raised from 21 to 23 years after considerable agitation and great deliberation; to lower it again would not be in the best interests of the country.

Kazi Kabiruddin seconded the resolution which was carried nem con.

INNS OF COURT

The next resolution ran as follows:

The All-India Muslim League is of opinion that the new regulation adopted by the Council of Legal Education for the admission of students into the Inns of Court will inflict unnecessary hardship on Indian students, and considers that all reasonable requirements will be met by providing that an Indian student shall be qualified for admission if he shall have passed the Intermediate or F.A. examination of an Indian University; and even if the Council of Legal Education must take the possession of a university degree as indispensable for an Indian barrister, the call to the Bar, and not the admission into an Inn of Court, may be made conditional on his taking such a degree.

The All-India Muslim League is further of opinion that the provision in the new registrations that one of the certificates of

good character of candidates should be signed by a District Magistrate on the ground of personal acquaintance extending over a period of one year is extremely harsh and must result in the exclusion from the Inns of Court of a considerable number of good and worthy Indian students who may not have secured the privilege of the personal acquaintance of the Magistrate of his district for the requisite length of time, and of practically all students of a district to which a new Magistrate is recently posted.

Syed Zahur Ahmed, moving the resolution, referred to the hardships such a rule was likely to inflict upon the well-to-do classes of Indian students and also to the difficulty which would be experienced in obtaining certificates of good conduct from the District Magistrates with whom Indian students had but little opportunity of making personal acquaintance.

Mr. Mohammad Ali, seconding the resolution, felicitously remarked that as there was no love lost between him and his young barrister friends, he wished that their standard of capacity should remain as low as possible.

On being put to the vote, the resolution was carried without a single dissent.

ELECTION TO IMPERIAL COUNCIL

The last resolution related to the very natural desire of the Muslims of the Central Provinces and the Berars to have the right of electing a representative to the Imperial Council, and ran as follows:

The All-India Muslim League is of opinion that the right of electing a representative to the Imperial Council should be given to the Muslims of the Central Provinces and the Berars.

Mr. A.H.M. Anwar, proposing the resolution, said that to safeguard the interests of the Muslim minority it was necessary that the right of electing their own representatives should be given to them in the Central Provinces as had been the case in other provinces.

Mr. Abdul Kadir seconded the resolution, which was unanimously carried.

Moulvi Mohammad Aziz Mirza, Honorary Secretary to the

All-India Muslim League, thanking the President, the members of the Reception Committee and the volunteers for the trouble they had taken in ministering to the comfort of their numerous guests, said:

It is not given to every one to be a leader of men, but it is certainly within the range of everyone to make himself useful to the community and the country. Those who loom large in the public eye and on whom the mantle of fame has descended are not the only useful members of society. So while we are highly grateful to Khan Bahadur H.M. Malak, the leader of the Central Provinces' Muslims, for his self-sacrificing labours in the cause of the community, we are no less thankful to the other members of the Reception Committee, as well as the volunteers, who left no stone unturned to minister to our comforts and make our sojourn here both pleasant and profitable.

The Honorary Secretary was followed by Khan Bahadur H.M. Malak, who thanked His Highness the Aga Khan for the great trouble he had taken in coming all the way from Europe to Nagpur, in spite of being in delicate health, to take part in their deliberations. He concluded by saying that the Muslims were very fortunate in having such a wise and self-sacrificing leader as His Highness.

Nawab Syed Mohammad then signalized his accession to the League by proposing a cordial vote of thanks to the President for the masterly way in which he had directed the deliberations of the League.

The President, Syed Nabiullah, in a humorous little speech interspersed with pithy remarks and sage observations, summed up the proceedings of the two days. In doing so, he referred to the necessity of separate electorates in municipal and district boards, and drew attention to the resolution passed by the Congress at Allahabad against the creation of separate electorates in municipal and local bodies. He reminded his audience that this was a settled fact so far as Government were concerned, because in 1906, Lord Minto in reply to the Muslim Deputation accepted the principle of separate electorates in all elective bodies, whether Imperial or Provincial Councils, or municipal or local boards. So far as the Councils were concerned, the principle had already been applied in practice, and it would remain

for Government to fulfil its pledges in the matter of local self-government.

Referring to the remarks of the Hon'ble Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah in the Congress, he pointed out that he had been good enough to acknowledge that those were his own personal views and that in the matter of separate electorates in municipalities, he did not represent the opinion of the community. The President was thankful for this admission, as otherwise the resolution moved by Mr. Jinnah, who was elected by a separate Muslim electorate, would have caused a great deal of embarrassment.

He also referred to the remarks at the Congress of Hon'ble Mr. Mazharul-Haque, who gloried in the fact of also being a member of the League, and deprecated the sentiments expressed by him in his condemnation of a separate electorate for Muslims, the necessity for which had not only been recognized by Government and Musalmans, but also by leaders of Hindu public opinion, such as the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale. He further remarked that from the summary of the Hon'ble Mr. Haque's speech that had appeared in the newspapers with regard to the separate representation of Musalmans, it was clear that for the present he was not opposed to the application of the principle of separate electorates to Legislative Councils, but he disapproved of the extension of that principle in the case of municipal, local and district boards. Mr. Haque, he remarked, did not state why a principle which was unsound in one case was sound in another. In the absence of any explanation clearing up this paradox, the inference was that he had no strong justification to offer for the maintenance of separate electorates or communal representation in the case of the Councils also. Mr. Haque had thus laid himself open to the charge of inconsistency—a charge which, perhaps, applied with equal force to his colleague Mr. Jinnah, since both of them owed their present positions in the Imperial Council to the separate electorates.

In conclusion, the President emphatically declared that the Muslims were unanimous in the demand for separate representation, although they might take their own time in pushing their claims, which were as righteous as they were reasonable, and which had already been fully accepted by the responsible head of the British Government. He then referred to the gracious

consideration of His Majesty the King Emperor in changing the date of the coronation out of regard for Muslim sentiments. He hoped that they would be able to commemorate His Majesty's visit by the creation of a Muslim University. In 'bringing his remarks and with them the Session to a close, he called for six cheers for His Majesty the King Emperor, the additional three being for His Majesty graciously changing the date of his Coronation at Delhi to meet the susceptibilities of his Musalman subjects, a call which was most heartily, enthusiastically and vociferously responded to. Three cheers were also given to the acknowledged leader of Indian Muslims, His Highness the Aga Khan.¹

^{1.} Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting of the All-India Muslim League held at Nagpur, on the 28th and 30th December, 1910. Compiled by Moulvi Mohammad Aziz Mirza, Hon. Sec., All-India Muslim League.

Chapter 12

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

FIFTH SESSION

Calcutta, March 3-4, 1912

FIRST SITTING

The Fifth Session of the All-India Muslim League Commenced on March 3, 1912, at the Town Hall, Calcutta. Moulvi Badruddin Haider Khan Bahadur, Chairman of the Reception Committee, delivered the following address:

ADDRESS BY MOULVI BADRUDDIN HAIDER KHAN

On this momentous occasion, I feel I cannot make a better commencement of my speech and open the deliberations of this august assembly in a more fitting manner than by following in the footsteps of our forefathers, who always reverently adhered to the time-honoured practice of inaugurating all important undertakings by involving the blessings of the Most High, "Whom slumber seizeth not and Whose throne overspreadeth the heaven and the earth", so that the conviction may grow in our hearts that we are guided and fortified by that divine strength and wisdom which alone is responsible for any great results that human energy is able to achieve in the realm of action or of thought. Our brightest hope and firmest trust is oft-times based on what proves in the event to be a flimsy superstructure of vague desires based on the rotten foundation of vain sanguinness. Let us, therefore, begin by praying that His divine inspiration may guide us in our deliberations and help us:

> "In working out in heart and brain The Problem of our being here."

My next duty—and a most pleasurable duty, I assure you—is to welcome the delegates to this assembly. The practice of

welcoming our guests is a stereotyped formula of the speech of the President of the Reception Committee; but believe me, the sentiment which dictates it is anything but stereotyped—it is a deep sense of gratitude for the encouraging and enthusiastic response which you have made to the call of the Reception Committee of which I have the proud privilege of being the President. It is very gratifying to me to see gentlemen representing the highest intelligence and culture and the noblest public spirit of the country assembled here from all parts of India at the sacrifice of personal interests, ignoring material considerations, moved by a noble spirit of patriotism and inspired with a hopeful and manly outlook on the future of our community. I thank you sincerely, gentlemen, for undergoing the inconvenience consequent on a tedious journey and for cheerfully making considerable self-sacrifice to come and enlighten us by your wisdom, and help us with the moral force of your political support. Gentlemen, will it be saying too much if I make the assertion that we would have weighed as dust in the scale of the political balance in which the various organizations of India are weighed, had it not been for the noble exertions and indefatigable zeal of the various delegates, who have been at all times ready and willing to work out, without failing in their loyalty to the Crown, and on lines not in conflict with or in opposition to the policy and ruling principles of the Supreme Government, plans and schemes to further the interest of the Mohammedan community and to secure for it rights and privileges to which it is lawfully entitled and to which it may justly aspire?

We are passing through that most critical period in a nation's history—a stage of transition; a great revolution is silently but surely working out its mighty destiny. Inevitable misfortune and utter collapse and annihilation would be the fate of those sects and races which would sit by indolently and neglect to take a lively interest in the march of events. It is a revolution worked out and effected not by sheer brute force and eulpable violence, but by the wholesome and salutary influence of intelligence rightly directed to its objects, acting and thriving under the benign aegis and fostering care of the power to whom merciful Providence has consigned the sway of our destiny.

Gentlemen, we have passed through troublous times. The sky was overcast with dark and murky clouds, and the political

atmosphere was surcharged with electricity. Anarchism was rife in the country. Life and property seemed to be insecure. Mischievous conspiracies were formed to weaken the Government. The cult of the bomb was preached and practised, and shots were fired for the destruction of innocent persons in the pursuit of illegal and often shadowy aims; and the pity of it was that the ostensible malefactors were more boys into whose immature and sensitive minds had been infused, by designing persons, ideas and hopes of a dangerous character. The firmness of the Government, its humane administration of the law and the general patriotism of the country tided us safely over all difficulties, carried us through the gloom, and landed us in light.

Whatever shred of disaffection still remained, the recent visit of the King Emperor to this country has entirely dissipated, and working like a potent charm, it has produced unprecedented harmony and created intense affection for the Crown. We may be permitted to congratulate ourselves on having been at all times unflinching and steadfast in our loyalty to the State, and on having stood by it through all its difficulties and embarrassments. We trust that we have never been impelled by any sordid motives, but that we have been actuated by genuine appreciation of the goodness of the Government to lend to it our entire support and devotion. To quote the words of His Highness the Aga Khan, "the loyalty of the Indian Mohammedans is not a cold calculating loyalty bound up, with the material sense of favours to come; but a warm and passionate attachment to the Imperial Throne under which the community has made such gigantic strides in progressive evolution." Under the auspices of the new Governor and during the new regime, it is confidently expected that the industrial and commercial interests of Bengal will be established on a basis of progress and advancement; that the legitimate aspirations of the inhabitants of Bengal will have a freer and larger scope; and that future generations will have good cause to remember with gratitude the epoch-making visit of King George V to this country.

The statement is persistently made by some of our leaders, with florid eloquence and great show of reason, that India is for the Indians. The soundness of the doctrine cannot be called in question when it is qualified by the modifying clause that India is for the Indian only so far as it is in consistence with the rights

and interests of the Supreme Government, without whose assistance, protection and guidance our political entity would be an impossibility. To link the different races of India in bonds of union and brotherhood is the goal of our progress; and the English Government, the best, the most humane and the wisest of all European governments must exist in the country to keep us all together in peace and harmony. We have not yet been able to thoroughly master and assimilate the political lessons which English education has imparted to us. I may be pardoned for describing ourselves as mere infants in the cradle of freedom.

It must be a matter of great rejoicing to us that we have enlisted on our side the sympathies of many far-seeing politicians, particularly those of the great philosopher and statesman Viscount Morley and Lord Minto, the predecessor of our present Viceroy. Through their exertions, Indians have been allowed to participate in the government of their country. We cannot be sufficiently thankful to them for the considerate interest they take in the welfare of India. And we hope that the day is not far distant when they will think it proper invariably to have a well-qualified Mohammedan representative of our special communal interests in the Imperial Executive Council, as well as to have a greater number of Indians associated with the Government of India. In connection with this question, I am sure I voice the unanimous sentiments of the Mohammedan subjects of his Imperial Majesty when I say that we are all grateful for the recent elevation of Mr. Hasan Imam to the Bench of the Calcutta High Court, and for the intended appointment of the Hon'ble Mr. Shamsul Huda as a Member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bengal. The office of the Law Member in the Viceregal Council, the duties of which the Hon'ble Mr. Ali Imam discharges with great credit to himself and benefit to the Government, has been a gift for which every Mohammedan should consider himself bound by ties of gratitude to the State. The Right Hon'ble Mr. Ameer Ali's appointment as a Privy Councillor has been an act of grace on the part of the King which has secured for the Throne the love and lovalty of all the Mohammedans of India. The career of Mr. Ameer Ali has been marked with such success and has produced such splendid results, beneficial alike to his countrymen and to the administration of British justice, that it justifies our hopes and

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expectations that he will be found in every way worthy of high honour done to him. Mr. Ameer Ali has brought his great talents, keen intelligence and untiring energy to bear on all questions concerning the Indian Mohammedans; and it is a circumstance of national felicitation that his labours in the field of literature and politics have been fruitful in producing that wonderful solidarity and uniformity of ideas in our community which we trust will prove its ultimate salvation.

I must also take this opportunity to express the gratitude of our community to His Highness the Aga Khan, whose burning zeal for the cause of Mohammedans has so lately been honoured by the highest recognition that the Indian Government can bestow. The part he took in securing the Mohammedans a proper share in the benefits accruing from the new reform is a matter of common knowledge; and we fully realize that but for his timely intervention, we should have been hopelessly handicapped in the race which India is just starting. We must also put on record our high sense of gratitude for his titanic labours in the cause of Muslim education; and we confidently hope that the Mohammedan University will soon be established as a permanent fountainhead of thought for the whole Muslim world and continue to exist as an everlasting monument of his noble labours in the Mohammedan cause.

Next I must express our sense of obligation to the President of this Session of the League, Nawab Bahadur Sir Salimullah, G.C.I.E., of Dacca. His selfless services in the Muslim cause in India, and specially in his part of Bengal, are a fit subject of emulation for all right-thinking Mohammedans. We offer the Nawab Bahadur our hearty congratulations for the signal mark of Royal favour which has been shown to him in the recent Durbar at Delhi. We take it as a compliment to the whole community to find that our Government has so highly honoured two of our distinguished leaders on such a memorable occasion.

Our thanks are also due to Her Highness the Begum Saheba of Bhopal for her earnest and sustained efforts to advance the cause of female education, and for general uplift of residents of the zenana. The partial success which she has as yet achieved must really be very disheartening. But we would fain remind Her Highness that great achievements have always had very small beginnings. There has, however, lately come into evidence

a powerful development of opinion all over India in favour of the emancipation of our women. That the community has begun to appreciate the Begum's pioneer work in this field of social reform is a great step forward; and we are confident that in no very distant future she will have cause to be gratified at the success that will crown her philanthropic endeavours. Female education in one of the crying social needs of Muslim India. Purely through our own culpable neglect in denying them the blessings of a sound education, Muslim women had sunk to a low degree of social degeneration. Some grew to look upon them as mere commodities to be toyed with. They had no individuality of their own. They could not take part in the ordinary social and literary life of the nation—let alone the higher political and economic spheres of social activity. This regrettable backwardness of the lumber-room puppets and the empty-headed beauty-shows who now people some of our harems is a notorious cause of our social degeneration; and the betterment of their condition, which, we trust, the Begum Saheba will succeed in effecting within a short time, will be a most vital contribution to the cause of our national regeneration. We heartily bid her God-speed in this profoundly important work which she has set before herself, and which, we trust, she will carry through with her usual unflinching zeal and undaunted energy. We congratulate the Begum Saheba on the high honours which her sterling worth has secured for her at the recent Delhi Durbar.

This much for felicitations and congratulations. I have now to turn to sadder duties and have to record our deep sense of bereavement and sorrow at the loss of those prominent members of our community whom death has removed from amongst us during the course of the last year. Pre-eminent among these, alike by the position he occupied and the void his death has left in Muslim society, was the late Nizam of Hyderabad. He had established for himself an undying name in the history of India by the catholicity of his sympathies, his broad-minded statesmanship, his gentle humanitarianism, his administrative capacity and his active and whole-hearted co-operation in all schemes of national regeneration. It is a circumstance of the deepest national regret that the cruel hand of death should have taken him away from us at such a critical juncture, when Muslim India is just entering upon the threshold of a new life, and when

so many of our highest hopes for the success of schemes of national uplift were centred in his person. We also take this opportunity of welcoming His Highness the present Nizam as a bright new orb in the firmament of public life. We sincerely hope that he will not fail to follow in the footsteps of his illustrious father. His high education, sound political training, and the healthy environment amidst which he has been brought up from earliest infancy raise great hopes in the heart of the members of his community; and we look to him to realize these hopes and ambitions in their entirety.

We would next express the deep sorrow we feel at the quite recent and untimely death of our able and energetic secretary. Mr. Aziz Mirza. His valuable services to this League are too well known to need recapitulation. As Secretary of the League. he has contributed, perhaps to a greater degree than anybody else, towards establishing it on a sound and stable basis, widening its scope of usefulness, increasing its influence and generally developing it as an agency of high potency for safeguarding the communal interest of the Indian Mohammedans and the national interests of the whole population of India, irrespective of caste or creed. He has earned a permanent place in our memory by his enthusiastic zeal in furthering all Mohammedan interests. his unfailing courtesy, his affability of temper, and all those qualities of head and heart which endeared him to all those who came in contact with him. He possessed in a pre-eminent degree that quality—so rare among the general run of Mohammedan leaders—of self-effacement, which is the true and only criterion of the real greatness of a leader of society.

The community has also had to deplore the loss of another of its prominent members in the death of Syed Ali Bilgrami, an eminent linguist of high repute. He belonged to that small band of illustrious Mohammedan leaders who have been working so incessantly to bring about the regeneration of the Muslim community, and we can ill-afford to sustain such an irreparable loss at a time when we are just awakening to a sense of our political consciousness.

Gentlemen, I yield to none in my desire to help forward the cause of my community; but at the same time, I must frankly say that I feel myself embarrassed by the high honour done to me, and it is with great diffidence that I make bold to submit

to you the results of my deliberations on current topics. The crowded routine of public events at the present time and the embarrassing series of reverses which are befalling our community in foreign lands must be my excuse for the inadequacy of the reception we have been able to extend to you. Had conditions been more propitious, we would have tried to give you a welcome worthy of you and befitting the occasion. We trust. however, you will look to the spirit that goes with the welcome and forgive us its inadequacy. Once more I repeat, gentlemen, that I heartily bid you welcome to our city. Calcutta will no more be the capital of India; but the City of Palaces, the City of Clive and of Hastings will not sink into the oblivion of insignificance. Our Sovereign Lord, the King Emperor, has himself assured us that Calcutta would still be the premier city of the Indian Empire, and that the removal of the capital to Delhi will have no very adverse effects on its future prosperity. Delhi, after wearing widow's weeds for centuries, has again been restored to her ancient pre-eminence. Its importance has been reestablished and its dead glory will live alive again in future ages; but it will not, I trust, rob Calcutta of the glory that is its due. Calcutta will still continue to loom big in the public horizon. True, it does not possess the romance of antiquity and the halo of departed glories, but it does possess the higher romance of Western organization and the more modern glamour of Occidental civilization. The history of Calcutta will go down to future ages as a remarkable instane of the unlimited potentialities and astounding virility of industrial energy. In future, Calcutta will draw our pulse just as Delhi draws it now:

"For men are we, and must grieve whenever The shade of that which once was great Has passed away..."

Whatever adverse circumstances might befall her, we can never forget the glory attaching to Calcutta, which from a mere hamlet of fishermen grew to be the second city in the Empire within the almost incredible period of just over a century and a half.

I shall now, with your permission, proceed to review some of the more important events of Muslim interest that have occurred since the last session of our League. The Muslim community all over the world is passing through very stirring times.

Coming events are casting their shadows before them; and the whole Muslim world waits on the tip-toe of expectation to see what the womb of futurity has in store for us. Of these great events, the Italian raid on the Tripolitan coast at present looms biggest on the international horizon. There can be no manner of doubt that the course of action pursued by Italy in the present case is utterly unjustifiable and wholly uncalled for. I will not swell the literature already existing, and daily growing, upon this unfortunate subject by expressing my personal views in the matter. I will only content myself with saying that I quite fail to see how any internal mismanagement by an autonomous power can give a rival power the right of territorial acquisition. It stands to reason that if Turkey had failed to guarantee fair treatment to her Italian subjects, Italy might have entered a strong protest against such a breach of international equity. She might even in the last resort have demanded of Turkey the surrender of all Italian subjects and the payment of fair and equitable compensation for any losses incurred by them. But no political reasoning, however sound, and no logic, however subtle, can establish her claim to a right of territorial sovereignty over the whole of Tripoli, just because a microscopic minority of the Tripolitan foreign population was alleged to be labouring under Turkish inequities. Even granting that there had been but I wholly deny that there was—such a maladministration, we should still fail to find any justification for the high-handed action on the part of Italy. It is a matter of great gratification for the Muslim community to find that the cold-blooded atrocities committed by the Italians have elicited strong and unqualified condemnation from almost all great international Powers. It remains to be seen how far these protests will be followed up by more vigorous declarations of policy, sufficiently practical to prevent a possible recurrence of such unfortunate and disreputable instances of international greed. In this connection the British Government in particular has its duties clearly outlined for it by the serious gravity and the magnitude of its own political stake. The British Government has a greater number of Mohammedan subjects than any other single power, European or Asiatic; and it is to the best interests of Britain herself to see that the sentiments and feelings of this vast population are not wantonly outraged. The Muslim community in India, therefore,

confidently expects that it will not be long before the British Cabinet will become alive to its serious responsibilities, and, discarding the present halting policy of passive neutrality, will attempt to bring about some sort of reconciliation which may be acceptable to both the contending parties. Action in this matter is urgently called for, and procrastination will only intensify the gravity of the situation.

The political situation in Persia is also a matter of grave concern to the whole Muslim world. Here, again, we have a superior power trying to bully a weaker constitution, and seeking to establish an utterly inequitous claim by the primitive and highly objectionable rule of 'might is right'. How far Britain has involved herself inextricably in this mesh of international relations we are not in a position to judge. But rightly or wrongly, the idea has of late been gaining ground that the part taken by Britain in these transactions has not been wholly in consonance with ideas which we entertain of British justice. I, for one, am hopeful that these misgivings will prove groundless. The British Government, however, owes it to its Muslim subjects to set their mind at rest once and for all by a final declaration of the line of action it means to pursue, if matters come to a head and Russia persists in her irrational and obstinate conduct. The subjects of the British Empire have been taught from their cradles to believe that wherever the interests of British subjects are involveddirectly or indirectly—we may rely on the international potency of Pax Britannica to secure fair and equitable treatment. The Muslim community all over the world expects that this conviction will ere long be actualized, and that the British Government, both at home and in India, will take an active part in ensuring political autonomy and territorial integrity to unfortunate Persia.

Let us now turn to the brighter side of the picture, and mention in passing some of those fortunate events, conducive to the brightest optimism, which have occurred during the same period. Of these, the first to arrest our attention is the recent visit of the King Emperor to India. The Royal visit was a unique event in the annals of British India—an event with results of the profoundest importance. It has for the first time given an opportunity to the Indian masses to realize that sense of warm fervid loyalty and strong personal attachment to the Crown which is the only loyalty that they can fully comprehend and actually

feel. The royal visit has been a triumphant march all through. and the noble simplicity of the King Emperor, the genuineness present in every word of his epoch-making utterances, his invariable courtesy and spontaneous affability towards all his beloved subjects, irrespective of colour, caste or creed', have won for him a permanent corner in every Indian heart. The boons he was pleased to bestow on his subjects on the memorable occasion of the Durbar cover a wide range, and will have touched the Indians as they have never been touched before. It will echo through future ages, and grateful posterity will fully realize and enjoy the benefits accruing from these boons. It would hardly be proper of me to stand between you and the President of the Session by giving a long and detailed account of these boons. I would only draw your attention to the liberal and sympathetic instinct which breathes through every line of the Government of India's despatches, and the thorough comprehension and masterful grasp of an extremely intricate situation which characterize the replies of our enlightened and open-minded Secretary of State for India. This sympathetic tone has forged a new link in the golden fetters of loyalty and of love which bind the Indian subjects to their British benefactors.

Following close in the footsteps of these generous boons has come the Viceroy's proposal to grant a university to Eastern Bengal. Here, too, it was the Government's solicitude for Mohammedan interests that dictated the proposal. For though the university does not purport to be an essentially denominational university, cogent circumstantial evidence irresistibly points to the fact that it is meant to serve as some slight recompense to the Eastern Bengal Mohammedans for the loss of those educational facilities which the new province (Eastern Bengal) had secured them. We thank His Excellency Lord Hardinge for this kindly consideration for Muslim interests, and we welcome the proposal that it should be a teaching and residential university.

Apropos of this, I take this opportunity of offering our heart-felt thanks for the further grant of Rs. 125 lakhs which has only yesterday been announced by Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, G.C. I.E., in his financial statement. We hope it is only an earnest of that series of liberal grants to the cause of education which we have been led to expect by the Durbar announcements.

The next point to which I would draw your serious attention

is the absolute dearth of journalistic literature in the Mohammedan community of India. In fact there was not until very recently a single organ of Muslim public opinion which could claim any wide circulation or considerable influence with the public or the ruling bureaucracy. This circumstance is particularly regretable in view of the great importance and high potency which the press has been attaining all over the world, not only as a social and literary agency, but also as a political factor of predominant influence. From expressing and then guiding public opinion, it grew into a power absolutely, almost dogmatically forming this public opinion. And now, in these democratic and socialistic times, it has begun almost to dictate political policies to nations on the assumption, as often mistaken as correct, that it is a legitimate representative of true public opinion. At such a time, it is a serious drawback for the Indian Mohammedans, and a drawback likely to react most banefully on their cause, not to have a recognized and powerful organ through which to voice their grievances and in which to express their social, moral and political aspirations. Lately, however, Mohammad Ali of Aligarh, a distinguished graduate of Oxford University, has established The Comrade, which is a journal of a very high order and commands respect in the highest official and private circles. We thank Mr. Mohammad Ali sincerely for the valuable services which he has thus been rendering to his community and country at very considerable personal sacrifice. Paucity of funds, however, has heretofore tied his hands from increasing the efficiency of the journal by making it a daily paper, and supplementing it with an Urdu daily. I confidently hope that our liberal-minded patriots will not fail to come forward to help such an important cause and open their purses freely for a national undertaking of such vital importance.

I beg leave next to draw your attention to the part we Mohammedans are taking in the industrial reorganization of India. It is a fact patent to the most perfunctory observer that India is just now passing from the stage of a purely agricultural to that of an industrial and commercial organization. Machine enterprise is marching onwards with giant strides; large-scale production is fast displacing the old craftsmanship and the petty domestic industries which characterized the economic condition of India in the past ages; dignity of labour is being gradually

recognized by the upper circle of the Indian community. The Indian hoard of precious metals so long buried in vaults or dissipated in wantonness is losing its shyness towards industrial ventures, and is being invested as capital to help forward manufacturing or commercial enterprises. The Government has recognized its duty towards the Indians in the matter of advancing India in economic efficiency and has established technical colleges, technical and scientific research scholarships, and has also opened large experimental farms. In short, to quote the words of Sir Theodore Morison, "India is fast emerging from that primitive stage of industrial organization which it had stuck to so tenaciously down to the end of the last century." And this general economic revolution is sure to lead to immeasurable good for India and to secure it a very much higher place than what it now occupies in the community of nations. It is therefore a circumstance of deep regret and of grave concern to see that Mohammedans have hitherto held themselves studiously aloof from this national movement of industrial reorganization. Most of our young men hanker after Government service, and forget that, in the words of a Madras merchant, "an income which is, in the last analysis, derived from the pockets of our own poor rate-payers cannot be in the best interests of our country." Failing Government service, our youths drift into the legal profession and swell its already crowded ranks. Our young men should be encouraged to go in more for the independent walks of life and actively participate in that leavening movement of industrial development which is now proceeding apace all over the country. Such a procedure will not only tend to their ultimate good, but bring India considerably nearer to that goal of industrial independence which such Indian thinkers of admitted sagacity as the late Mr. Justice Ranade and his truly worthy pupil, the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, so fervently desired.

We hear a great deal in these days of local autonomy and communal interests. Self-government conducted within certain prescribed limits and under reasonable control of the supreme authority is productive of great results. The wisdom of the Government, always directed by a liberal and generous policy, has not hesitated to grant us, to some extent, the great and invaluable right of self-government; and the history of the past 25 years has amply proved that Indians are capable of governing

themselves and fully deserve the right of self-government accorded to them. A close observer of the times, however, sorrowfully marks that the Mohammedan interest is faint and almost invisible in these schemes of local self-government; and it is high time now to insist upon proper recognition of the hitherto almost ignored Mohammedan community, in whose way greater facilities should now be placed, so that Mohammedans might be properly represented in the district and municipal boards. It is also noteworthy that the Mohammedans do not by a long way receive their fair share in the different branches of the public service.

Gentlemen, it is also a truism to assert that strength increases with the constant exercise of it. We feel that we are everyday growing stronger and stronger, both morally and intellectually, by being called upon to exercise our judgment and discretion in positions of trust and dignity. To have our own representatives in the different deliberative and executive councils of Government is a high privilege which by our conduct and action we have proved to the world we are worthy of holding. A duty, at once serious and solemn, is therefore laid upon us to elect our representatives, ignoring all considerations excepting such as affect the weal of our community or the general interests of our motherland. In making such selections we have often to face some difficulties.

The Government were pleased to lay down certain rules to regulate Mohammedan elections to the Provincial Legislative Council. Amongst other things it was provided that a person paying income-tax on Rs. 6.000 would be eligible for election and the voting for such election would be by delegates. The delegates were not to be bound by any specific mandate from electors. These rules were enforced during the last election, and the experience gained calls for their amendment. The Government also recognized the necessity for such amendment, and appointed a representative committee to go into the question. The committee has lately finished its labours. The election should not be by delegates, as it may possibly lead to corruption. The voting should be direct by the electors; and if the election is at all to be by delegates, such delegates should be bound to follow the mandate of the electors, and the full property qualification in the case of those who seek election through that qualification should be insisted upon, and mere payment of income-tax on the statutory amount without actually having such income should not

make one eligible for election. An equal number of seats should also be allotted to Mohammedans and Hindus.

I agree with the general principles of Mr. Gokhale's Bill on elementary education, and I am of opinion that it should be passed into law with some modifications safeguarding the interests of Mohammedans.

I now come to the consideration of the Wakf-alal-Aulad Validating Bill introduced by the Hon'ble Mr. Jinnah. In the Mohammedan Law of Succession, unlike the English Law of Primogeniture, as you all know, even comparatively distant relatives come in for a share in the property of a deceased person. Such an enactment was indeed called for at the time and under the special circumstances under which our Prophet laid it down. But his far-seeing eye had also perceived that under a different set of attendant circumstances, such, for example, as those obtaining in India, this procedure might lead to the ultimate ruin and disintegration of Muslim families. Here in India the system of infinite subdivisions had always led to the gradual impoverishment and ultimate effacement of ancient Muslim families. The misery resulting from this procedure has been great, and is bound to be acuter in the near future when industrial organization will have advanced to a high degree. For then this law will prevent that accumulation of large capital with individual capitalists without which no big enterprises can be built up. It will also be responsible for the very ephemeral character of all commercial and manufacturing establishments which might owe their origin to Muslim energy. All these catastrophies will make for national degeneration. Such an eventuality should therefore be avoided; and our Prophet laid down a rule which provides. where necessary, a remedy against the worst consequences of such infinite subdivisions among a succession of heirs. This was the institution of Wakf-alal-Aulad. It is greatly to be regretted, however, that the highest appellate court of British justice has set aside this eminently salutary enactment of Mohmmedan law. This action of the Privy Council is calculated to result in serious mischief and much harm to the Muslim community, and we carnestly pray that the Government of India will see their way to undo this wrong by recognizing the institution of Wakf-glal-Aulad and passing Mr. Jinnah's Bill into law with such modification as may be considered necessary.

Apropos of this, I must put on record my strong protest against a movement set afoot by certain gentlemen to revive the old system of having Kazis in the courts of justice to interpret Mohammedan law. This is a retrograde and reactionary measure, and would not prove conducive to efficiency in the administration of justice.

I have already detained you long, gentlemen, and I do not think it would be permissible for me to encroach any more on your valuable time. It would be out of place at this initial stage of our deliberations to descend into details and to foreshadow the resolutions that will be put forward by the League in this Session. But I trust that these resolutions will be given due consideration by the Government, and that most, if not all, of our suggestions will be adopted after due deliberations.

In conclusion, gentlemen, let me remind you that though we have achieved some success, we cannot yet afford to rest on our oars. Honest, earnest, and solid work must still be our task for a long time to come. Our future lies more largely than ever with ourselves. Other races have stolen a march over us and are pushing on with rapid strides. To regain our place among the nationalities of India, we must take time by the forelock, and not let slip any opportunity of advancing our cause in this transitional stage of national evolution. We have still very much to do; but if only we persevere in the path we have adopted and continue our labours with undaunted zeal, we are bound to come off with flying colours in the end:

"Let us then be up and doing, With a heart for any fate, Still achieving, still pursuing, Learn to labour and to wait."

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF NAWAB SALIMULLAH

It is with feelings of the utmost diffidence, almost verging on trepidation, that I stand before you here to-day in obedience to your summons to preside over the deliberations of this august assembly, the Fifth Session of the All-India Muslim League. When I cast my eyes upon this distinguished audience and the

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brilliant galaxy of leaders of my community from the various provinces, representing the wealth, the culture and the talent of Islam in India, I feel surprised that your choice should have fallen on my unworthy self; and when, looking back from the present to the past, I call to mind the muster-roll of the names of the noble sons of Islam who have graced this Chair during the past sessions of this august body, my heart fails within me at the thought of the magnitude of the task which you in your goodness have called upon me to perform to-day. Believe me when I say that I look upon the honour you have so graciously conferred upon me as the crowning ambition of an Indian Muslim's life of self-sacrifice and whole-hearted devotion to the best interests of his country and his community. I regret that I cannot escape the thought that I owe this signal honour more to the indulgence with which you have accepted what little services I may have rendered to my community than to any intrinsic merit or worth in my humble self. Permit me, therefore, to offer you my most heartfelt thanks not only for the great honour you have conferred on me by electing me to preside over your deliberations, but also for the warmth and cordiality of the splendid reception you have just now accorded to me. I venture to hope that the same kindliness of feeling and indulgent sympathy which prompted you to confer this honour on me will also induce you to overlook my failings and shortcomings in the discharge of the onerous and responsible duties of the office to which you have been pleased to call me to-day.

It is now barely five years ago that the inaugural meeting of the League was held at Dacca in December 1906. We in Eastern Bengal were then passing through one of the severest crises which Islam has had to face since the commencement of British rule in this country. The sense of a common danger threatening our very existence as a community, and the imminent peril to which our rights and liberties were exposed, made us close up our ranks and take counsel of the veteran leaders of Muslim thought all over India. This was the first inception of the League; and after deliberation, it was launched into being as the champion of our cause and the trusted exponent of our thoughts and aspirations in the political life of our community in this country. The unselfish labours of Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur and the munificence of His Highness the Aga Khan, who has

been the President of the League since its very beginning, together with the exertions of its energetic Secretary, the late Mr. Aziz Mirza (may his soul rest in peace), enabled it to get over the early struggles of its infancy and contributed no little to its unprecedented success within so short a time. Looking around me to-day, I can well perceive how successfully the League has enlisted the sympathies of the leaders of Muslim thought in India; and I hope I will be pardoned a little legitimate pride in having been fortunate enough to initiate the proceedings which gave the League its birth in my native city of Dacca.

I feel I cannot let this opportunity pass without referring to an event which has saddened our hearts and cast a gloom over us all. The sudden demise of Mr. Aziz Mirza has been an irreparable loss to the League and the community, and has come to me with all the bitterness of the loss of a personal friend. In the freshness of my grief, I cannot dwell at length on all he did for our community; but no enumeration of his services is necessary, as they are well known to all who have had anything to do with guiding the League through the troublous days of its past career. I hope his noble example will inspire his successor to follow in his footsteps in a spirit of unselfish devotion to the best interests of our community.

Gentlemen, before proceeding formally to the consideration and discussion of the various subjects in the programme before us, I consider it my duty to refer to an event which, unprecedented in the varied annals of this continent, has stirred the hearts of the Indian peoples to an extent unknown before. I allude to the recent august visit of Their Gracious Majesties the King Emperor and the Queen Empress, undertaken at great personal sacrifices, out of Their Majesties' unbounded love for the peoples of India. The wealth and imagery of the English language have been exhausted by the distinguished love, the heartfelt devotion and fervent loyalty with which Their Majesties have been greeted everywhere in India, and His Majesty himself has set the seal on all the varied accounts of the Royal visit and of its far-reaching consequences in the several Royal messages to the Princes and peoples of India, and recently in the speech from the Throne, which are all full of that felicity of expression, that purity of diction, that broadminded statesmanship and overflowing love for his subjects which are inseparable

from all the utterances of our Gracious Sovereign. For me. therefore, to attempt an account of the Royal visit or of the loyalty and enthusiasm it naturally evoked among the various classes of His Majesty's Indian subjects would be, in the words of a great English poet, 'wasteful and ridiculous excess'. No description, however life-like or graphic, can convey an adequate idea of the scenes which were witnessed in India during that alltoo-brief a period. In the midst of the gorgeous pageants which greeted Their Majesties in their triumphal progress throughout India, the personality of King Emperor always stood out bright. majestic, serene, full of kingly dignity, and yet intensely human in the gracious sympathy with which His Majesty accepted the heartfelt homage of all classes of his subjects. And, to add lustre to these scenes, there was by the side of His Majesty that august lady, the Queen Empress, justly styled the type of perfect British womanhood, who will always live in history as the first British Queen who graciously consented to tear herself away from her children at home to testify, by her presence in India, to her love for the Indian peoples. Long will these royal figures live in our hearts, enshrined in a halo of devotion and loyalty which has never before been surpassed, and to which the future historian will seldom find a parallel in any age or clime. To us, the Indian Musalmans, His Majesty possesses the additional fascination of being the ruler of a larger Musalman population than any other sovereign on the face of the globe. The sceptre wielded by His Majesty the King Emperor is also the symbol of protection for a very large fraction of the entire Musalman population of the world, and we in India rejoice that our interests are in such safe keeping and so well guarded against those internal and external commotions which prevent a people from devoting its energies to mental, moral or material advancement. No wonder then that the Musalmans were so conspicuous in their demonstrations of loyalty to their Sovereign, for their lovalty is a deep and abiding sentiment, which nothing can change, and in this respect they yield to no section of the community.

I need not detain you long by referring to the epoch-making Durbar, or the historic ceremonies which attended it. These heart-enthralling events will supply memories which will be amongst the most cherished possessions of the Indian peoples and will fill the brightest and the most glorious pages in Indian

history. I cannot, however, pass on to other matters without referring to what are called the Durbar announcements, one of which has unfortunately saddened Musalman hearts and cast a sombre shadow over Musalman homes in East Bengal. I will, however, refer to only four of these announcements and take them up in order.

Transfer of the Capital

First, as regards the transfer of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi. We in Eastern Bengal are not much concerned with the effects, immediate or remote, of the transfer of the capital; but none the less we rejoice, because our brethren in the United Provinces and the Punjab will be benefited by the change. We rejoice, because the high officials who control the destinies of India will naturally now be in close touch with so remarkable a centre of Muslim intellectual activity as Aligarh, such refined seats of Muslim culture as are to be found in the principal cities of of the United Provinces, such exemplary types of Muslim manhood as the virile Musalmans of the Punjab. We rejoice with them, and pray to the Almighty Disposer of events that this momentous change of the transfer of the capital to Delhi may be for the good of all classes of the people, and that it may usher in an era of progress for Islam in those parts, which may redound to the glory of our community all over India. May the heart of Islam be resuscitated and vivified even as the historic city of Delhi will come to new life in this restoration to her of her past dignity, and may the ancient glories of Islam be revived a hundredfold under the aegis of British rule, so that our future generations may hold aloft the banner of culture, progress and civilization as our forefathers did, when the mighty flag of the Musalman Emperors floated triumphantly over the walls of Delhi.

Annulment of Partition

I am now forced to refer to another Durbar announcement which compels me to say some bitter truths, but on which I cannot keep altogether silent, for I am sure my silence would be misunderstood. I am sorry I have got to take the risk of saying

things which may perhaps expose me to contumely; but I feel that I cannot let this opportunity pass without an attempt at expressing our real feelings over a matter which weighs so heavily on our hearts -I mean the annulment of the Partition. I hope I will not be misunderstood. I am not one of those who used to look upon the Partition, in itself, as the only panacea for all our evils. The Partition gave us a great opportunity to bestir ourselves, and it awakened in our hearts the throbbings of a new national life which went pulsating through the various sections of our community in Eastern Bengal. I hope, gentlemen, you will believe me when I assure you that the Musalmans of East Bengal supported the Partition, not out of enmity to our Hindu brethren or at the bidding of the Government, but because we felt sure that the new administrative arrangements in East Bengal would afford us ample opportunities for self-improvement. We felt sure that the people of East Bengal, particularly the Musalmans, would be immensely benefited by a sympathetic administration easily accessible to them, and always ready to devote its time and attention exclusively to their welfare. As for ourselves, the Musalmans of East Bengal, we came to realize for the first time in our history that we too had rights and privileges as British subjects, and that it was only necessary for us to put our own shoulders to the wheel to free ourselves from that state of servile dependence on a dominant community in which we had been living before the Partition. How far we took advantage of these opportunities of self-improvement offered to us, it is now needless for me to discuss. This is now an integral part of the history of the East Bengal districts for the six years (1905-1911) during which the Partition remained in force.

Our ill-wishers at once perceived that the Partition would necessarily bring to the fore the long-neglected claims of the Musalmans of East Bengal, and although we never got more than what was justly our due, what little we gained was so much a loss to them. We regretted that this should be so, but it was unavoidable. It was perhaps unavoidable also that philanthropy of our opponents should not be equal to the occasion, for they saw in the maintenance of the Partition a possibility of the Musalmans of East Bengal regaining a portion of their well-deserved rights as citizens of the British Empire. Those who are forced to give up a portion of their long-enjoyed monopoly, however unjustifiable in

nature and origin, will readily understand the feelings of our enemies after the Partition. It was, therefore, only natural that they started a vigorous agitation to have the Partition annulled and to secure a reversion to the old order of things. Over the vehemence of this agitation, the excesses to which some of the agitators could go, and the violent crimes of which they became guilty in giving expression to their pent-up feelings against the Government, I would draw a veil, for they are matters of public notoriety and will soon pass into history. Seditious writings in the press were backed up by revolutionary speeches on the platform, and a band of irresponsible agitators roamed at large over the country to instil into the receptive minds of the youths the deadly poison of anarchical ideas. To give effect to their disloyal feelings against the Government, the agitators organized a boycott of British goods, and under colour of supporting an economic movement, sought to inflame the minds of the ignorant masses against Britain and its people. For some time the whole of Bengal seemed to be in the throes of a violent revolution, and there was hardly any peace in the land. Political murders were followed by political dacoities, and the officials entrusted with the maintenance of law and order were harassed in a way which would have exhausted even the patience of job.

The reason for all this violent agitation was not far to seek. The agitators themselves alleged that Bengali sentiment had been outraged by placing them under two separate administrations, and that the Government wanted to injure their interests by placing them in a minority. It is a pity that this specious excuse for all this violent agitation and sedition should have been accepted by Government and believed by shrewd politicians like His Highness the Aga Khan. The real cause of the Bengali opposition to the Partition lay far deeper than in the plausible excuse of outraged sentiments, and I do not wish to repeat what I have already said on this point.

The Musalmans naturally refused to join the agitation because it was so violently opposed to their feelings of loyalty, and because it was directed against a measure which had proved of so much benefit to their interests. The agitators strained every nerve to win them over to their side and seduce them from their loyalty, but without success. Those who know the utter help-lessness of Musalmans at the hands of their Bengali landlord,

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lawyer or creditor, will easily have an idea of the tremendous sacrifices which Musalmans had to make in rallying on the side of law and order. Bitter feelings arose between the two communities—not on account of the Partition, as the Government of India seem to imply in their Despatch, but because the Musalmans refused to join the agitators in their seditious conspiracies against the Government.

Vigorous measures were then adopted by the Government to vindicate its authority, and although they brought about an apparent calm, they inflamed the minds of the agitators more fully against the Government. Gradually, the position of affairs was this—on one side there was the community of agitators with, in many cases, wealth, education and influence to back them, and on the other, there was the loyal community, both of Hindus and Musalmans, who had faced the onslaught of the agitators and incurred their bitter hostility in supporting the Government.

All at once the Government of India decided upon the annulment of Partition, based, as they have said, on broad grounds of administrative expediency, but affected in a way which to the popular mind conveyed the impression of having been exacted by clamour and agitation. The ignorant masses understand nothing about constitutional struggles, and by them the anti-Partition agitation and its apparent successes were regarded as the outcome of a trial of strength between the Bengali politician and the Government. When the Partition was annulled, the popular interpretation was that the Government had been defeated, and the exultant agitators in their hour of triumph did all they could to exaggerate the importance of their victory. The result has been a serious blow to British prestige all over the country, especially in East Bengal. But this is not at all. The annulment of the Partition had all the appearance of a ready concession to the clamours of an utterly sedition agitation. It has appeared to put a premium on sedition and disloyalty, and created an impression in the minds of the irresponsible masses that even the Government can be brought down on its knees by a reckless and persistent defiance of constituted authority. Moreover, it has discredited British rule to an extent which is deeply to be regretted. It has hitherto been felt throughout the East that the word of the British Government is its

bond, and that, come what may, Government cannot go back on its plighted word. Anything which weakens this belief must irreparably injure British prestige in India and the entire East in general.

To us, the Musalmans of East Bengal, the annulment means the deprivation of those splendid opportunities at self-improvement which we had secured by the Partition. But it is not the loss of these opportunities merely, heavy as that is, that forms the burden of grief over the annulment of the Partition. It is the manner in which the change has been brought about, without even warning or consulting us, which adds to the poignancy of our grief. I think I may fairly claim that though we should doubtless have urged our views strongly, our subsequent action has shown that we would have felt that Government by consulting us had shown its full confidence in our loyalty. And had there even been a chance of a Mohammedan agitation in East Bengal, the mere fact that the announcement had been made by His Gracious Majesty himself would have sufficed to render it impossible. We preferred to restrain ourselves from the course which might have commended itself on the first impulses of the moment, and did not wish to embarrass Government by agitation against an administrative measure which, however galling to our feelings, has had the impress of the Royal assent and approval. We hope we have succeeded in setting an example of genuine loyalty and willing obedience to the words of our Sovereign which can stand the severest tests.

The Other Announcements

From a discussion of this sad topic of the annulment of the Partition, it is a real pleasure to refer to two other announcements of the Durbar which will undoubtedly prove to be of lasting benefit to the Indian peoples. The munificent grant of Rs. 50 lakhs for the advancement of education comes very opportunely at a time when the ferment of new ideas in the East has led to a great educational renaiscence in India, and to an eager craving for education amongst all the various sections of the community. The spread of education in all its branches has been one of the inestimable blessings of British rule in India, and anything that serves to foster education is a real boon to people.

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I have no doubt that the Government will be able to allot the grant very judiciously, and that the money will serve to fructify many a field of education which would otherwise have been barren for want of pecuniary aid. I hope I will be pardoned if I put in a plea for a preferential treatment of the Eastern Bengal districts and pray for an allotment exclusively for the advancement of education in that area.

The Royal announcement of the pension of the Shamsul-Ulemas and Mahamahopadhyas is yet another tangible proof of His Majesty's solicitude for the votaries of learning. These savants have generally not enough of the riches of the world, and this Royal grant will now place them above sordid material wants. It is to be hoped that they will henceforth be able to pursue their noble calling unhindered by pecuniary cares and anxieties, and serve by their labours to extend the ever-widening bounds of human knowledge and culture.

Mr. Gokhale's Bill

I have just referred to a great educational renaiscence in India. It appears to me that the immediate effects of this renaiscence are to be seen, among others, in the momentous movements for two great universities at Aligarh and Benares, and the eager enthusiasm with which the country as a whole has welcomed Mr. Gokhale's Bill. The question of a system of free primary education for the masses has been agitating the minds of the leaders of Indian thought for some time. In my opinion the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has rendered a signal service to the future of primary education in this country by the elaborate scheme he has worked out and which he has so ably formulated in his Bill. I feel it my duty to accord my whole-hearted sympathy to the principle of Mr. Gokhale's Bill, for I feel convinced that unless some action is taken in the way suggested by Mr. Gokhale, the cause of primary education will continue to be relegated to the cold shade of neglect. The apathy with which we have hitherto allowed our masses to pass their days in dense ignorance and superstition appears to me to be almost a crime. All the efforts that have been made in this country towards the advancement of education have hitherto been confined mostly to the cause of higher education. It is time that this apathy to the cause of primary education should be removed. That this primary education should be free is, perhaps, universally accepted; but in order that any scheme for this sort of education may be effective, it should also be to a certain extent compulsory. There can be no hardships in compulsion as is sometimes argued, provided there are reasonable safeguards, just as is provided for in Mr. Gokhale's Bill. But instead of wasting time over endless discussions as to the details of the working of the Bill, I think that a beginning should be made as early as possible. With the inauguration of a system of free primary education, I can look forward to an era of prosperity and progress for the inarticulate masses whose interests should always be our most sacred charge.

As regards the movements for the two sister universities, I am aware that doubts have been expressed in some quarters as to their desirability under existing conditions in India. It has been said that they will retard rather than foster the growth of knowledge by perpetuating obsolete forms of learning—that they will hinder the diffusion of new and enlightened ideas, and that they will perpetuate the line of cleavage, accentuate the differences, and widen the gulf between the two communities. Now, I for one cannot seriously believe that these results can follow the establishment of any university worth the name. A temple of learning hardly deserves this honourable appellation. if, instead of diffusing the light of knowledge and culture, it leaves its votaries in Cimmerian intellectual darkness, where they are prevented from looking beyond their own immediate selves, or taking a broader view of men and affairs than what is afforded by sordid personal considerations. These apprehensions arise from an ignorance of the wealth of knowledge, culture and civilization which lies hidden in the neglected mines of Oriental learning. Nor do I believe that there cannot be any real amity between the youths of the two great communities unless they are prepared to forswear, partially at least, their own respective ideals in order to develop a hybrid nationality and meet on the common ground afforded by the diffusion of an alien culture and civilization. If such are the tremendous sacrifices that have to be made, even for so desirable an object as a real rapprochement between the two communities, I for one would not purchase even so valuable a commodity at so high a price. Happily these alarms are without foundation. For the Muslim

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University, I am prepared to tell these false prophets that it will be a great seat of intellectual activity, where the youths of our community, drawing their inspiration from the master-minds of Islam in the past, and taking the fullest advantage of the wealth of Islamic culture and civilization, will also be fully equipped with all the weapons of modern warfare to take their Proper place in the battle of life. I am confident that if, under Providence, the university fulfils its ideals, the East and the West will be blended in our youths in perfect harmony. This is fully recognized by all the leaders of Muslim thought, and this is the secret of the tremendous enthusiasm which the movement for the university has evoked all over India.

Proposed Dacca University

While on the subject of residential universities, I feel bound to say a few words as regards the proposed university at Dacca. The announcement made by His Excellency about this new university has given rise to endless discussions, and some of our countrymen are opposing it tooth and nail. One distinguished Bengali leader calls this university 'the apple of discord', and the opponents of the scheme pretend to see in its inauguration a clever linguistic partition of the Bengalis, quite as pernicious as the late administrative Partition. Now, I am very sorry that our Bengali friends should scent danger where none exists, and oppose the scheme in a way which is sure to see the two communities against each other. The Viceroy has distinctly assured the Bengali leaders that the university would in no sense be a sectional university meant to benefit the Musalmans alone. It was the remarkable strides made by East Bengal in the matter of education in recent years that suggested to His Excellency the idea of creating a teaching and residential university at Dacca the first of its kind in India—in order to prevent a setback in this remarkable progress. We, the Musalmans of East Bengal, welcome the university, not because it is meant for our exclusive benefit or to injure the interests of our Hindu brethren, but because we feel convinced that a teaching and residential university, in an area which has shown itself so susceptible of educational improvement, would give an impulse to the cause of education in the Eastern Bengal districts, which would easily

place them in the van of educational progress in India. No doubt, any benefit to East Bengal necessarily means a benefit to that section of the population, numbering 20 millions, who happen to be Musalmans, but this is a contingency which cannot be avoided. We cannot cease to be a part and parcel of the population of that part of the country simply to please the fancy of a set of politicians who would eternally penalize the whole of Eastern Bengal for the sin of having harboured so large a Musalman majority. But while we welcome the scheme of the university and the appointment of a special officer, I am strongly of opinion that the Musalman community would not derive any appreciable benefits, unless sufficient funds are allotted for the exclusive advancement of Musalman education. Ours is a proverbially poor community, and the leaders of the Hindu Deputation, as well as the Viceroy, have admitted that it will be necessary to give some special facilities to Musalmans. With sufficient funds at our disposal, it will only remain to work out matters of detail as to how our community in East Bengal can best be helped to take the fullest advantage of a residential and teaching university in their midst.

Need for Musalman Teachers and Inspectors

And this leads me to say a few words on a subject which. I am afraid, has not received the attention it deserves, and which must be well borne in mind if our efforts for the advancement of Musalman education are expected to meet with practical success. I refer to the urgent necessity of having a larger number, than hitherto, of Musalman teachers in the schools situated in areas where Masalmans preponderate in the population, and also of having more Musalman inspecting officers to supervise Musalman education. It has been the fashion to denounce the apathy of the Musalmans in taking advantage of the facilities afforded by the educational institutions of the country, and there is no doubt that the accusation is partially well-founded. But there are other causes which have conspired to keep away the Musalmans from our English schools and colleges. These institutions have all along been condemned for the godless education they impart, and to the large majority of Mohammedan parents these seminaries of learning are the devil's workshops

where the minds of the youth are filled with ideas repugnant to the tenets of Islam. There is hardly anything either in the curriculum of studies or in the personnel of the institutions. which can inspire Musalman parents with confidence as to the spiritual upbringing of the students. "Is it any object for wonder", says Mr. E.C. Bayley, "that they (Musalmans) hold aloof from a system which, however good in itself, made no concession to their prejudices—made, in fact, no provision for what they esteemed their necessities, and which was in its nature unavoidably antagonistic to their interests and at variance with their social traditions?" "The language of our Government schools", says Sir William Hunter, "in Lower Bengal is Hindi and the masters are Hindus. The Musalmans with one consent spurned the instructions of idolators through the medium of idolatry.....the astute Hindu has covered the country with schools adapted to the wants of his own community, but wholly unsuited to the Mohammedans. Our rural schools seldom enable a Mohammedan to learn the tongue necessary for his holding a respectable position in life and for the performance of his religious duties." No condemnation can be more vigorous or more complete, and no words more deserving of careful consideration. Some good has no doubt been done in recent years by the acceptance of some of the recommendations of the Education Commission of 1882, and the appointment of a larger number of Musalman inspecting officers in certain areas has been amply justified by events. In some instances, the advance made by the Musalmans, under the fostering care of Musalman inspecting officers in matters of education, has been phenomenal. But although much has been done, much more yet remains to be done, and I sincerely hope that Government will be induced to give fuller effect to the recommendations at an early date.

Technical and Industrial Education

On the subject of technical, industrial and commercial education for our young men, I do not think I need say much. All the great leaders of Indian thought consider it essential to the real progress of the country for our young men to devote their energies to the development of the resources of our country and the improvement of our arts and industries. It is time that our

young men should avoid the beaten track of qualifying themselves solely for service or the overstocked professions; and I am sure if they did so, they would not only benefit themselves, but serve the best interests of the country.

Communal Representation

With the broadening of outlook and the advancement of ideas consequent on the diffusion of education on Western lines. comes a natural craving for Western institutions and an eager desire to be associated more liberally in the administration of the country. The unerring signs of the times could hardly have escaped the notice of our rulers, and to their credit be it said that they have nobly come forward to meet the demands of our countrymen in both respects. It is now within the reasonable ambition of any properly qualified Indian to be admitted to the highest posts in the service of the Crown, and the expansion of the Legislative Councils and the generous recognition of a liberal representation of popular rights have secured the people of India an effective voice in the administration of affairs of the country. And in doing this, our rulers have been careful at each step to recognize that it is the duty of the British administration to protectithe interests of the various communities in India, and to secure impartial treatment to all. In the peculiar circumstances prevailing in this country, with its vast congeries of peoples in all stages of intellectual development, each with its own traditions, ideals and aspirations, it would have been suicidal to the peace and harmonious progress of country if Western institutions had been bodily transplanted to India without due regard to local conditions or the interests of the various communities inhabiting this peninsula. It would have been opposed to the sense of justice of the great British public, and they have not done it.

And this leads me at once to say a few words as regards the principle of communal representation and the system of separate electorates claimed by the Musalmans in India. This has been opposed by the other communities on the ground "that separate election by castes and creeds is not known elsewhere in British Empire, and would introduce a new element of discord and disunion if introduced in India". Now, as regards the first objection,

I consider it a sufficient refutation to say that the analogy of what prevails elsewhere is not applicable to India, simply because Indian conditions are so essentially different from the state of things in other parts of the British Empire. This is no doubt a truism, but these simple and obvious reasons are so often forgotten in the heat of controversy that it is worthwhile emphasizing them. India must be judged as it is, and not from visionary theories of what it should be or by false analogies drawn from conditions different from our own. Moreover, the system of representation by caste, classes or creeds is not entirely unknown elsewhere, and it does actually prevail where the conditions are fairly similar to those in India. In moving the second reading of the Indian Council Bill in the House of Lords on February 23, 1908, the Secretary of State said: "The Mohammedans demand...the? election of their own representatives to these Councils in all the stages, just as in Cyprus, where, I think, the Mohammedans vote by themselves. So in Bohemia, where the Germans vote alone and have their own register. Therefore, we are not without a parallel for the idea of a separate register."

The Royal Commission upon Decentralization in India, composed of European and Hindu members, strongly supported communal representation. "We are in entire accord", says the report of the Decentralization Commission, "with Lord Ripon's resolution of 1882 as to the desirability of trying the methods of proportional representation and election by caste, occupation, etc. Having regard to the very different circumstances of different areas, we think it essential that the system adopted in each should be such as to provide for the due representation of different communities, creeds, and interests." It may be added that a class system of representation which exists in Rangoon, and in some of the Punjab municipalities, was found by the Royal Commission to have worked fairly satisfactorily.

It is also essential that Mohammedans should vote upon altogether a separate register, and for Mohammedans alone, in order that they may be able to exercise the right of voting undeterred by the various influences which would otherwise deprive them of the free exercise of their privilege. In addressing the Mohammedan Deputation that waited upon His Excellency Lord Minto at Simla in October 1906, His Lordship observed:

"I am firmly convinced that any electoral representation in India would be doomed to mischievous failure which aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement regardless of the beliefs and traditions of the communities composing the population of this continent.... You point out that in many cases electoral bodies as now constituted cannot be expected to return a Mohammedan candidate, and that, if by chance they did so, it could only be at the sacrifice of such a candidate's views to those of a majority opposed to his own community, whom he would in no way represent. I am not entirely in accord with you."

As regards the apprehension, expressed by our opponents, that the introduction of these principles of communal representation and election by separate electorates would introduce discord and disunion in India, I am strongly of opinion that all accepted facts point quite the other way. I am firmly convinced that the best way to avoid friction with our Hindu brethren is to allow us to choose our own representatives in the local, district and municipal boards and Legislative Councils. It is our experience that nothing causes more bad blood between the Hindus and the Mohammedans than these contested elections. The Hindus fill the legal and other professions; they are also the village money lenders and the village landlords. It is hardly necessary to point out that the combination of wealth and influence in our more fortunate Hindu brethren often makes the Mohammedan voter dependent on his Hindu Zamindar, creditor or lawyer. To prevent any influences being exercised over Mohammedan voters, Mohammedan candidates have sometimes been obliged to appeal to the religious sentiments of the voters, with sometimes very deplorable results. These contingencies would be avoided if Mohammedans are allowed to vote by themselves.

All these arguments apply with equal force to the separate representation of Mohammedans on local and district boards, and municipalities. These bodies exercise great influence over the everyday life of our people. Education, sanitation and other important local affairs are entrusted in their hands, and it is necessary that the Musalmans should be allowed their full share of representation on these bodies as well. To quote again from Lord Minto's statesmanlike reply: "I agree with you that the initial rungs in the ladder of self-government are to be found in

the municipal and district boards, and that it is in that direction that we must look for the gradual political education of the people." To this emphatic statement of our case, I feel I have nothing more to add.

It will thus be seen that the privileges that we claim for our community have been repeatedly recognized by distinguished British statesmen, and pledged to us by the highest officials in unmistakable terms. I repeat my firm conviction that the fulfilment of these pledges would not only be an act of bare justice to Musalmans, but would also be productive of the utmost harmony between the two great communities by removing all chances of controversy and bitter rivalry for the possession of prizes in civil life. As a practical solution of the question, I personally think that the interests of Musalmans will be safeguarded if half the seats are reserved for them on all self-governing bodies in all the provinces, as well as the Legislative Councils, to be filled by the system of separate electorates and voting on separate registers. To quote once again from Lord Minto: "You justly claim that your position should be estimated not merely on numerical strength, but in respect to the political importance of your community and the service to the Empire."

Wakf

The question of the mismanagement of Wakf endowments has been agitating the mind of the community for sometime past, and is a matter of grave concern to the Musalmans of India. It is the duty of the Government to see that the pious wishes of these benefactors of our community are fully carried out by a proper application of the Wakf funds to the purposes for which they are intended. The League has already drawn the attention of Government to this deplorable state of things, but hitherto without effect. Another source of annoyance to the community has been the indifference with which Government has treated the representations of the community as regards the dissatisfaction amongst the Musalmans of India caused by the decision of the Privy Council regarding the validity of Wakfalal-Aulad. I cannot conceive how Government can persuade itself to ignore such unmistakable expressions of the opinion of the leaders of our community on questions of such supreme importance to the Musalmans of India.

Indians in the Transvaal

I feel it my bounden duty to raise an emphatic protest against the unjust treatment of Indians, and the serious disabilities imposed on them, in British South-East Africa. The perpetuation of the grievances of our countrymen in that land, in spite of the most vigorous condemnation both in this country and in England, is a marvel to those who have learnt to pin their faith on the sense of justice of the British people for the redress of real grievances. Nearly five years ago, I put a series of questions in the Imperial Council with a view to ascertain how far the Government of India was regardful of the rights and privileges of the natives of India in the Transvaal. The replies, as I noted then, were satisfactory. I am well aware that both the Governments here and in Britain are very sympathetic, and there is a tendency towards the redress of grievances. But in spite of all that has been done, a bare enumeration of the existing disabilities of the Indians in the Transvaal would be shocking to the feelings of their fellow-countrymen in India. They are still denied all freedom in the acquirement of land in that country; they are not given facilities and comforts in the matter of travelling in the railways; they are debarred from nomination to the magisterial offices, however influential and respectable they may be; while suffering terms of imprisonment. little or no consideration is paid to their religious scruples, although these are often as dear to them as life itself. These and a thousand other grievances make the life of our countrymen most miserable in the Transvaal and other parts of South Africa, and must necessarily be humiliating to them and galling to their feelings. I repeat what I said five years ago on the same subject from my seat in the Imperial Council, that I challenge the right of the British Colonial Government to put the stain of inferiority on British Indian subjects or place them on a lower status than that bestowed on the commonest of foreigners. I understand that the Committee of the London Branch of the All-India Muslim League has recently addressed His Majesty's Government on the imperative necessity of redressing these real grievances. I need hardly say that these grievances weigh heavily on the hearts of all Indians irrespective of caste and creed. and that any action taken towards the amelioration of the 387

condition of our countrymen in South Africa would be hailed with immense satisfaction and joy by all the communities in the Indian Empire.

Appointments

The question of larger employment of our youths in various branches of the public service is a matter of great importance to our community. I am not one of those who look upon the successful securing of a post in Government service as the only laudable ambition of a youth's career, or the summum bonum of a man's existence. I am convinced that too much of a craving for service in a young man is incompatible with the existence of those high aspirations and lofty ideals which lift us to excellence as useful members of society. I deprecate this morbid frame of mind quite as strongly as anybody; but the fact remains that a considerable number of our youths must choose Government service as their career in life, which, with all its drawbacks, has got certain obvious advantages. It satisfies a laudable ambition in a young man to be associated in the work of the administration of the country; it relieves him from pressing pecuniary wants; education is encouraged by the success of our educated young men in securing honourable posts in the public service: and lastly, a Government servant can look after the education of his children with greater facilities than one of his position in life outside the Government service. But I wish it to be distinctly understood that I have no desire to make any proposals which will have the effect of impairing the efficiency of the various branches of public service. We are convinced as well as anybody else that it would be detrimental to the cause of the proper administration of the country if incompetent men are pitchforked into posts without due regard to their abilities to perform the duties assigned to them. Officials in India seem to have an idea that Musalmans press for a preferential treatment of their youths in the matter of employment in the public services, in utter disregard of the requirements of efficiency. Nothing is farther from our intention than this. What we want is that, provided Musalman candidates satisfy the minimum test required for efficiency, they may be freely admitted in preference to candidates belonging to advanced communities. To

insist on more than the minimum requisite of qualifications for the due discharge of the duties of a post would be to insist on what is perhaps a superfluity. There is a general impression that in matters of employment in public service, Mohammedan claims have met with indulgent consideration. I have gathered statistics of appointments in Eastern Bengal, where the principle of favouritism is alleged to have been carried very far, which shows that there are far more Hindu officers without any university qualifications than there are Mohammedans. It seems to me that if Mohammedan claims are to be fully met and real justice is to be done to them in the matter of appointments, a minimum qualification, with due regard to the pay and prospects of the various offices, should be fixed. And when a Mohammedan is found to satisfy the requisite minimum, and is otherwise qualified, he should be given preference over candidates belonging to advanced communities; and that this policy may be continued till such time as the proportion of Mohammedans in the services comes up to their proportion in the population.

Concluding Remarks

And now I must bring my words to close. I feel I owe you ample apologies for having inflicted this long speech on you, and I must thank you for having listened to it so patiently. I am quite aware that I have said nothing new or original, or anything particularly nice to strike your fancy. I have said just what came uppermost in my mind regarding some burning questions of the day affecting our community in India. Master-minds have handled these subjects before me, and they have left nothing new for me to say. But even obvious truths have got to be repeated, and their importance reiterated, lest in the tumult and bustle of the modern world we lose sight of them altogether.

The East is just now the scene of strange happenings. Old barriers are being broken down, old prejudices uprooted, and everywhere we seem to be confronted with revolutions which seem likely to convulse society. We in India cannot be unaffected by all that is happening around us. New hopes and aspirations have been born within us; and the mind of educated India is now throbbing with inspiring ideals and lofty aspirations. For the

Musalmans to continue further in a state of listless indifference would be to seal their fate for all time. We must all move with the times, or be forever doomed.

The question has often been asked: What should be our attitude towards politics? The world has grown older and wiser by more than half a century since the late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan advocated a total abstention from politics as the best course for a Musalman to pursue in India. Things have greatly changed since then, and the advice of even so great a leader as the late Syed has got to be modified in the light of past experiences. I think the proper answer to the question must, at the present moment, depend on what we mean by politics. There can be no harm if we confine our politics to placing our wants and grievances before our rulers, in a perfectly constitutional manner, and with due regard to the just claims of the other great communities of India. But we must deprecate the encouragement of the spirit of utter lawlessness, defiance of authority, rank sedition and reckless disregard of the rights of others, which we find generally form a part of the programme of the politics of the day.

To my mind, what is more urgently needed for our community than any politics is a combined effort on the part of all our leaders to spread education in all its branches amongst the various sections of our community. The facilities for education that already exist should be multiplied and extended, and all possible inducements held out to Musalman parents to secure the benefits of a liberal system of education for their children. We want men of genuine patriotism and self-sacrifice like our friend the Hon'ble Haji Mohammad Ismail Khan of Backergunj, whose munificent donation towards the cause of Mohammedan education recalls the noble and large-hearted philanthropy of Haji Mohammad Mohsin.

I have never advocated the principle of preferential treatment for the claims of my community in any respect; and what I have always claimed has been a just and proper regard of our legitimate rights. We do not wish to be selfish ourselves, and we would not tolerate selfishness in others. As regards our attitude towards all the other communities generally, I consider that man the worst enemy of the Indian peoples who would needlessly sow the seeds of discord between class and class and race and race in this country. In saying so, I am only giving expression to

earnest desire of His Majesty the King Emperor, so repeatedly emphasized by His Excellency the Viceroy, to see peace and harmony established amongst all the classes of his subjects, and I consider it almost a disloyalty to act in contravention to the clearly expressed wishes of our Gracious Sovereign. To the Hindu community particularly, our attitude should be one of brotherly love and amity; and we should always be ready to extend to them our whole-hearted sympathy in all their efforts for the advancement of India. (We must not forget that by their wealth and superior culture they deservedly occupy a very prominent position amongst the leaders of Indian thought, and not infrequently have they set before us examples of fearless independence, which we should do well to follow in all that concerns our country and our community). To our young men, I would add a few words of advice. Be manly and self-reliant, for a spirit of servile dependence on others is repugnant to the best traditions of Islam. Be honest and truthful, in small things and great. and recollect that one of the chosen attributes of the Divinity in Islam is Truth. Be loyal, and cultivate a feeling of reverence. love and respect for the great British people to whom your country and community owe the blessings of peace and ordered government. Above all, cultivate the spirit of self-sacrifice, and learn to sink your personal needs and requirements in striving after the common good, and I have no doubt you will grow up to be useful members of society, loyal and law-abiding citizens. and thus be worthy not only of your glorious heritage, but also of that great future which, under Providence, is to be sure the destiny of India as a part and parcel of the mighty British Empire.

Gentlemen, I must again apologize to you for having trespassed so much on your valuable time; but before I sit down, I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to take formal leave of you and all my colleagues, with a view to retiring finally from the field of politics. I am sorry to tell you that my failing health now stands in the way of my participating further in the bustle and turmoil of an active political life; and I sincerely regret that I am no longer able to take my humble share in the service of my community and my country. For the last 12 years I have been your humble comrade in arms, and I hope I have always been found in the thick of the fight. When I first took the field

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more than a decade ago, my co-religionists were hemmed in on all sides by implacable enemies. Now, through the blessings of God, the situation is greatly changed. My co-religionists have known (sic) their own rights and privileges. I feel satisfied that they can handle the weapons of warfare with pluck and courage, that they can now hold their own. Had it not been for the conviction that I cannot any longer be an active participator with you in the present state of my health, I would have continued at my post undeterred by any consequences. When I first took up politics. I did it to place my services at the disposal of my co-religionists and without any hopes of personal aggrandisement. I can now retire with a light heart, for my co-religionists have no longer that need for my services which they did before. But although I retire from active service, I will be in your reserve, for you can ever command me to do all that I can for the furtherance of the interests of my community. I will always be at your back and call, though not by your side. My consolation is that I see such a large number of our educated young men devote their time, talent and energies in the cause of Islam; and I am confident that when I unbuckle my armour, the weapons of warfare will pass on to stronger arms and stouter nerves. Believe me that in my retirement, you will have my most earnest prayers for the success of your efforts in securing Islam that place amongst the great communities of India to which it is entitled by its glorious history, noble traditions, lofty ideals and cultured civilization. May God prosper you and crown all your efforts with unqualified success.1

Following this speech, the meeting was adjourned till after lunch.

SECOND SITTING²

RESOLUTIONS

The League resumed proceedings after lunch at 3:20 p.m.

- 1. Speech Delivered at the Fifth Session of the All-India Muslim League held in Calcutta on 3rd and 4th March, 1912, by Nawab Sir Khajeh Salimullah Bahadur of Dacca. (Printed Pamphlet)
- 2. Reports of this and the subsequent sittings of the Fifth Session are taken from The Bengalee of March, 1912.

Formal resolutions were passed, thanking the King and Queen for the unique honour done to the people of India by the Imperial visit; lamenting the death of H.H. the Nizam, of Moulvi Mohammad Aziz Mirza, and of Syed Mohammad Bilgrami.

Then Khan Bahadur Allabbuksh served a resolution, on behalf of the League, appreciating the munificence of the Hon. Haji Mohammad Ismail Khan of Backergunj, in making a princely donation towards Mohammedan education. The resolution was seconded by Nawab Ghulam Mohammad Shah.

Haji Ismail Khan, the donor, being called upon to speak, said that since he thought that poverty was the cause of the educational backwardness of the Musalman community, he had done what, in his humble way, he had considered proper.

Mr. Mohammad Ali moved a resolution appreciating the tough fight of the Indians in South Africa protesting against racial distinctions, and praying that the Government might be pleased to remove those distinctions. Syed Zahur Ahmed seconded and Haji Mohammad Zakeria supported the motion.

Mr. Polak, who was received with applause, explained the Registration Law in the Transvaal.

Mr. Jeevanjee supported the resolution.

Mr. Mohammad Shafi proposed a resolution respectfully urging the Government to take steps to put an end to the system of recruiting Indian labour under indenture.

Mr. Rafiuddin seconded the resolution. In answer to an article in *The Pioneer*, asking how Indians in South Africa could expect better treatment in spite of the unrest in India, he said that the treatment meted out to the Indians in South Africa was one of the causes of Indian unrest.

Mr. Samiullah Beg proposed a resolution requesting the Government to reconsider the alteration in the age-limit at the competitive examination for the I.C.S, as it would prove detrimental to the interests of Indian candidates.

Khan Bahadur Ghulam Sadiq seconded the resolution.

THIRD SITTING

The League resumed its sittings on Monday, March 4, at 11:15 a.m.

Before the proceedings commenced, the Secretary communicated the news that His Highness the Aga Khan had agreed to be the third of three Joint Presidents of the League. But he announced that under the present rules, it was impossible to have more than one President; His Highness was therefore elected the only President.

ANNULMENT OF PARTITION

Mr. Mohammad Ali proposed the following resolution:

The All-India Muslim League places on record its deep sense of regret and disappointment at the annulment of the partition of Bengal in utter disregard of Muslim feeling, and trusts that Government will take early steps to safeguard Muslim interests in the Presidency of Bengal.

In doing so, he said that it might seem strange that he, not being born a Bengali, moved this resolution. But as he considered the whole Mohammedan community one, he thought that when the interest of a portion of the community suffered, the remaining portions shared the same feeling of trouble. This lesson of unity, they had learned from the Hindus, who made the question of Bengal an All-India question. He observed that the annulment was a great blunder, for it might shake the people's belief that the King can do no wrong. It was indeed calculated to cause the belief that any settled fact could be unsettled if agitation against it was persisted in. He further remarked that if the annulment served to promote love and fraternity between the Hindus and the Mohammedans, they would consider the annulment a boon, and think that Lord Hardinge was their best friend. But if it served to contribute towards alienation between the two, it would be the greatest misfortune that had ever befallen the country. The present time was a time of patience for the Mohammedans and trial for the Hindus; the latter should not be carried away by a feeling of triumph into a feeling of indifference towards the interests of the Mohammedan community.

Sheikh Zahur Ahmed seconded the resolution, which was then carried.

EDUCATION IN EASTERN BENGAL

Syed Nawab Ali Choudhuri moved the following resolution:

- (i) In view of the comparative backwardness of the people of Eastern Bengal and Assam in the matter of higher education, the All-India Muslim League heartily welcomes the scheme for the constitution of a teaching and residential university at Dacca, and urges on the Government the desirability of extending the operations of the proposed university over the districts of Dacca, Rajshahi and Chittagong divisions, so far at least as the general control and supervision of the educational institutions in those areas and the prescription of the curricula of studies and the examinations are concerned.
- (ii) The League begs to accord its hearty support to the proposal for the appointment of a special educational officer for Eastern Bengal and begs to urge the necessity of vesting him with full powers of initiative and control, independent of the Director of Public Instruction at Calcutta, and with adequate funds at his disposal.
- (iii) With a view to inducing the Musalman community to avail themselves more fully of the benefits of education and to preven't a setback in the remarkable progress in education made by the Musalmans of Eastern Bengal and Assam during recent years, the All-India Muslim League begs to urge the desirability of continuing in Eastern Bengal and Assam the facilities already granted to them and giving full and immediate effect to the recommendations of the Education Commission of 1882 in this behalf.

Mr. Wasi Ahmed seconded the resolution, which was carried.

MUSALMAN ENDOWMENTS

Mr. Wasi Ahmed moved the following resolution:

The All-India Muslim League respectfully reiterates its prayer that the Government may be pleased to institute a thorough inquiry into the general purpose and manner of administration of existing Musalman endowments designed mainly for the public benefit.



Sheikh Ghulam Sadiq seconded the resolution.

Mr. Nur Mohammad moved an amendment that the consideration of this resolution be postponed until Mr. Jinnah's Bill in the Legislative Council had been passed. Several gentlemen rose to a point of order, saying that it had nothing to do with the resolution. The amendment was put to the vote and defeated. The resolution was carried by a large majority with only three votes against it.

PUBLIC SERVICE

Syed Sultan Ahmed moved a resolution to the following effect¹:

The All-India Muslim League strongly urges upon the Government of India (to recruit Indians) in the higher branches of public service in larger numbers as a corollary to the reforms recently introduced and in fulfilment of solemn pledges repeatedly reiterated. The League also hopes that in view of the necessity and importance of each community being duly representated in the administration, and with a view to securing efficiency in the public service, the Government will lay down an irreducible minimum of educational qualifications, and will give the Musalmans possessing the minimum qualifications their just and rightful share in the appointments.

Mr. Sultan Ahmed, in moving the resolution, said that although repeated promises were made by the Government of India, these promises had not been given effect. Mr. Ahmed then quoted statistics in favour of his proposition, and said that Indians and Musalmans claimed those privileges as a matter of right.

Mr. Zahur Ahmed, seconding the resolution, said that Indians had been entrusted with the most responsible posts, but had never been found wanting. There was no excuse for the Government to keep them out of any position, however high it might be.

^{1.} The words in perenthesis, or others to the same effect, have probably been left out as a typographical error.

The resolution was carried, and the meeting then adjourned for lunch.

FOURTH SITTING

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION BILL

After lunch, when the League resumed its proceedings at 3 p.m., Mr. Mirza Samiullah Beg moved the following resolution:

The All-India Muslim League accepts in the main the principles of Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill, but is of opinion that elementary education should also be made free, and that Muslim interests should be adequately safeguarded.

In moving the resolution, Mr. Samiullah Beg said that if Mr. Gokhale's Bill were passed into law, it would benefit the Mohammedan more than any other community in India. Speaking of Lucknow, the speaker said that when a leading man of that place died there was nobody to take up his place. If this sort of thing continued for 15 or 20 years more, Lucknow would lose all traces of Mohammedan culture.

Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque, seconding the resolution, said that if the Bill were passed into law it would do more good than harm. He could not understand how a Musalman, following the teachings of the Prophet, could oppose a measure that would regenerate India as a whole. Referring to the compulsory section, he said that unless there was compulsion, they would not reach that position which ought to be theirs among civilized nations. The Government said they had no funds; but he could not accept this argument. Let the Government give him the portfolio, and in two months he would be able to point out jobberies which could easily be spent in education. In this question, the Hindus and Mohammedans were one.

Mr. Mohammad Shafi said that Islam did not tolerate compulsion. He should not be misunderstood when he said that, for he was not opposed to the spread of education. He challenged the supporters of the Bill to point out a country where compulsion was used in education. Compulsion in education was merely

the thin end of the wedge. It would be giving an effective weapon into the hands of a dominant majority at the sacrifice of the minority. First of all, let there be a school in every village: then the boys would go there in numbers. In his opinion higher education should first of all be made compulsory (sic). If the Bill were passed into law, it would lead to political disabilities, for then Hindi would be powerful at the expense of Urdu.

Mr. Mohammad Ali said that it was not possible to make higher education compulsory. As regards the argument that religion did not authorize compulsion, he asked whether that was any reason to oppose the compulsion to light lamps at sunset, which an ordinary policeman would compel even an Hon'ble member of the Council to do. The Muslim religion was embodied in a small book which had been their guiding light through all ages. But that small book contained a number of stories, a number of directions relating to the actual circumstances where the revelations were made, and a great many exhortations; yet the whole body of Islamic jurisprudence was based on that book. The duty to acquire learning was commanded by Islam, and the best method of carrying out that duty was left to us and to our varying circumstances.

While Mr. Mohammad Ali was speaking, Mr. Mohammad Shafi made several attempts to interrupt him, but he was not allowed to do so. Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haq quoted teachings of the Prophet which said that the search for knowledge was the bounden duty of every man and woman. Adding that Mr. Shafi was wrong in saying that compulsion was not tolerated by Islam. Mr. Hag referred to the Quran to show that, the Bill was not opposed to Mohammedan interests. Mr. Zahur Ahmed supported compulsion in elementary education; but in the interests of the Muslims, he advocated the establishment of an Arabic school in every village. Mr. Wahed Hussain thought that compulsion was the only means of removing widespread ignorance. Maulana Abulkalam Azad said that only title-holders and members of the Council were opposing the Bill in order to show their loyalty. Mr. Mohammad Shafi objected to the remark. Several gentlemen from the dais shouted: "We cannot bear this."

A tumultuous scene followed, in which a number of gentlemen rushed forward to speak on the subject simultaneously, After a few minutes order was restored, when Maulaua Azad was asked to take his seat, as he was out of order. The mover of the resolution, speaking in Urdu, then explained the objects of the Bill. Mr. Mohammad Shafi rose to say something, but he was ruled out of order. The members of the League then retired to an ante-room to record their votes. Thirty-four voted in favour of the resolution, while the opponents, who were in a hopeless minority, declined to vote.

The resolution was then carried unanimously (sic).

INDIANS IN THE ARMY

Mr. Zahur Ahmed moved the following resolution:

The All-India Muslim League earnestly hopes that now that the highest offices in the State have been thrown open to Indians, Government would give them a greater share in the defence of their country by appointing qualified Indians to the higher posts in the British Army to which (only) Europeans are now eligible.

The resolution was supported by Mr. Mohammad Ali. He said that when even the highest offices of the State were open to Indians, it would be absurd not to admit them in the army, in view of the tact, pluck, dash and all the other qualities shown by Indian soldiers on various occasions. The loyalty of the Indian soldiers was unquestionable.

The resolution was carried.

INDIAN LAW STUDENTS IN ENGLAND

Mr. Abdul Aziz proposed a resolution saying that the provisions of the new Regulation adopted by the Council of Legal Education for the admission of Indian students into the Inns of Court, respecting the certificate of good character, were harsh and must result in the exclusion of a considerable number of good and worthy Indian students.

The resolution¹, which was seconded by Mr. Wasi Ahmed, was carried.

1. Text not recorded in source document.

THE PERSIAN SITUATION

Mr. Ghulam Hussain moved the following resolution:

The All-India Muslim League places on record its deep sympathy with the people of Persia, who are connected with the Indian Muslims by the closest ties of blood, religion and a common culture, in their unmerited sufferings in their noble efforts to save their unfortunate country from Russian encroachments, and while trusting that the British Government is fully alive to the grave consequence likely to result from the dismemberment of Persia, respectfully urges upon the Imperial Government to get Russia to adhere to the spirit of Anglo-Russian Convention and more effectively ensure the integrity and independent development of the country.

Mr. Samiullah seconded the resolution, which was carried. The meeting was then adjourned.

FIFTH SITTING

The League resumed deliberations in its final sitting at 6.30 p.m., when Mr. Zulfikar Ali Khan was voted to the Chair, pending the return of the President, who had been delayed.

Mr. Mohammad Shafi moved a resolution to the effect that the League expressed deep abhorrence of Italy's raid on the Tripolitan Coast, and hoped that the European Powers would not fail to oblige Italy to recognize Turkish sovereignty in Tripoli. Nawab Sarfaraz Hussein seconded the resolution.

At this point the President arrived and the protempore president retired in his favour.

The resolution was carried1.

Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haq moved that, in view of the formation of an Executive Council in Bihar, the U.P. and the Punjab be granted the same privileges as Bihar, as they were equally entitled to these.

The resolution, seconded by Mr. Mokbul Ahmed, was carried nem con.

Moulvi Syed Rafiuddin proposed that the League urges a

1. The texts of this and subsequent resolutions are not available.

provision for the adequate communal representation of Mohammedans on district boards and the municipalities.

He observed that their rights had been taken away by other people. They were going to defend their rights; but their demands were never of an aggressive nature. There should be practical unanimity amongst them on the subject. It was high time for them to demand these rights: if they did not do so now, they would not get them till the end of time.

The resolution was seconded by Syed Nawab Ali Chowdhuri. He said that for their election, Musalmans generally had to depend upon Hindu zamindars, who were preponderant over them by virtue of their wealth and position.

Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque observed: "It is said by newspapers, both English and vernacular, that I pose as a representative of Mohammedan community. These really are my personal views. I have said that on the Congress platform and in the Imperial Council. I have never been a hypocrite. I shall never be a hypocrite. I differ from you in this particular matter. I know there is an overwhelming majority against me in this hall. But I (also) know there is an overwhelmingly strong minority (sic) in my favour. I do not want to thrust my views upon you, nor do I wish that you thrust your views upon me. I may be wrong. Nobody is infallible in this world. I think the time will come... when we will all agree. So long as this time is not come, you will pardon me for my differing from your views. But kindly allow me the freedom of thought which is the birth-right of every Musalman. Because I have the misfortune to differ from you. there are people in this very hall, who say that I am not a Mohammedan. I tell you I am a greater Mohammedan than many mullas. It is a Hoel upon me and my life. I love Islam better than many mullas. You should give me the freedom of my conscience. The time will come when we shall all be one. That time has almost come in Bengal. These are my views. I do not want to discuss the matter now. You will forgive me when I say that I cannot agree with you. If I am wrong, pray to God that He may give me light. If you are wrong, let me pray to God that He may give you light."

Mr. Mohammad Shafi believed that separate electorates for the Mohammedans would combine the Hindus and the Mohammedans. Mr. Mohammad Ali thought that a separate electorate was a hateful necessity—like divorce, which was accepted by Islam as a hateful necessity.¹

The meeting adopted a resolution agreeing with Mr. Jinnah's Bill regarding Wakfs, and urging upon the Government, the desirability of its being passed into law. This resolution elicited much discussion, a number of gentlemen opposing it.

The office-bearers were then elected, after which the meeting was closed at 9:15 p.m.²

^{1.} Although it is not stated in the report, it may be assumed that the resolution was passed.

^{2.} The Bengales, Calcutta, March, 1912.

Chapter 13

MUSLIM LEAGUE COUNCIL

Bankipur, December 31, 1912

A meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League was held on December 31, 1912, under the presidency of the Aga Khan. A resolution was passed therein which recommended that the aims of the Muslim League should be:

- 1. To promote and maintain among Indians feeling of loyalty towards the British Crown;
- 2. To protect and advance the political and other rights and interests of the Indian Musalmans;
- 3. To promote friendship and union between the Musalmans and other communities of India; and
- 4. Without detriment to the foregoing objects, the attainment of a system of self-government suitable to India by bringing about, through constitutional means, a steady reform of the existing system of administration; by promoting national unity and fostering public spirit among the people of India, and by co-operating with other communities for the said purposes.

Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque of Bankipur, pointed out (sic) why of all the people in India the Musalmans should make a speciality of expressing their loyalty. It was no good, he said, to profess their own chastity. They were true to their salt and were born loyalist and there was no need of its declaration.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah spoke in support of Mr. Haque, and said their action would stimulate the loyal feelings of other people in India.

Sir Wazir Hasan, the acting Secretary, explained the reasons

which led him to insert the foregoing passage (4) in the Constitution. Without an ideal, he said, no nation ever lived and it was time to put an ideal before the community.

Mr. Haque, objecting to the words 'self-government suitable to India', said that that was a meaningless sentence. People ought to be told that India wanted self-government on colonial lines.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah pointed out that a system of self-government on colonial lines was not feasible for India, where things were quite different from the countries where they existed. He asked Mr. Haque, how was 'self-government suitable to India' a meaningless phrase? If he knew the English language, he was sure it meant government of the people by the people. He put it to the credit of the League that it had placed the right ideal before the community. Though he was a Congressman, yet he knew that it was wrong in this matter, and he prophesied that very soon the Congress would adopt the same form as suggested by the League, and thus he thought that the League could well be congratulated for going ahead even of the Congress in the formation of the ideal. Replying to Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk, who mentioned that the time had not come for the attainment of self-government, the speaker said that nobody asked for it to be given tomorrow or the day after. It was the goal and ideal of the nation, and might be attained say a century hence.

Maulana Mohammad Ali also supported the resolution as it stood, and it was passed.

Chapter 14

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

SIXTH SESSION

Lucknow, March 22-23, 1913

The Session of the League, scheduled to be held in December 1912; was postponed because Syed Ameer Ali, whom the Muslims wanted to preside, could not spare time in that month, and the matter dragged on till March 1913, when it was felt absolutely necessary to hold it without further delay. Mian Mohammad Shafi took the chair. Several delegates from far and near came to attend it; and among the honourable visitors were Bishan Narain Dhar and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. Mr. M.A. Jinnah, though then not a member of the Muslim League, was also invited to attend the Session as a guest.

The first sitting of the League was held at the historic hall in Kaiser Bagh, which was tastefully decorated and crowded to its utmost capacity. The President of the Reception Committee, after welcoming the guests, dealt briefly with the various current events. Then Mian Mohammad Shafi gave the following Presidential Address: *

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF MIAN MOHAMMAD SHAFI

When my esteemed friend Syed Wazir Hasan communicated to me the desire of your Council that I should accept the presidency of this great gathering, I regarded the high honour offered to me as a token of your appreciation of the active share which, ever since its foundation, the Punjab Muslim League has taken in the great work accomplished by our organization during a period remarkable for a series of momentous political changes

and the birth of new political forces in this country. When a complete history of the organized efforts during the days of the Reform Scheme comes to be written, it will be found that the Punjab Muslim League played an important part in securing those valuable rights and privileges for our community which have, to a very great extent, enabled our co-religionists to take their proper share in the legislative and administrative machinery of the Indian Government. Writing from Switzerland on August 23, 1909, that veteran Muslim leader, the Right Hon'ble Syed Ameer Ali—who but for the Turkish crisis would now have been presiding over this Anniversary—spoke of our work in that connection in these gratifying terms: "Let me congratulate your League upon the emphatic manner in which you have declared yourself. I have already received from English friends, who take an interest in our cause, expressions of warm appreciation of your League's independence, consistency and political insight." And now by my election as President of the Sixth Anniversary of the All-India Muslim League, you have set the final seal of recognition upon the services rendered to the Muslim cause by your Punjab branch. In return for this generous appreciation on your part, I can confidently assure you that the 'Living Hearts of the Punjab' shall continue to beat true and steadfast as ever in the service of the national cause, that your brethren in the Punjab shall not be found wanting no matter how great be the sacrifice which the call of duty may demand.

The Unique Importance of this Anniversary

Gentlemen, we have met to-day under circumstances which lend exceptional importance to this year's anniversary. Political events in India are marching with a lightening rapidity and, in circumstances such as these, it is absolutely essential for a progressive political institution to keep pace with the ever-changing conditions of a transitional period. The improved legislative machinery is now in full swing; and to those who have been gifted by Providence with the foresight necessary to anticipate coming events, signs are not wanting of further development in the complicated political problems with which Indian affairs are surrounded. The Indian political atmosphere is already reverberating with the distant echoes of a coming storm which, though

as yet below the far horizon, is travelling steadily onward until at last it is sure to burst over our heads. The murmurs of 'Provincial Autonomy', 'Increased Power of Interpellation', 'Non-Official Majority in the Imperial Legislative Council', and the advent of the Royal Commission on the Public Services in India, are but the forerunners of that storm. It is the duty of the Muslim League to be on the alert lest the Indian Musalmans be caught napping at the critical moment.

The League itself is, this year, entering upon what may be rightly termed the second stage of its development with a revised constitution which is but the natural outcome not only of altered conditions but also of spontaneous evolution. In the Muslim world outside India, momentous events have taken place which besides changing the maps of three continents, are bound to have a tremendous effect upon the fortunes of Islam. Indeed, the great ocean has been disturbed by a storm the consequent commotion of which will be felt far and wide on every Muslim shore. In these circumstances, an intense feeling of responsibility almost overwhelms me when I think of what I have taken upon myself in responding to your call by agreeing to preside over your deliberations. But the heavy burden of that responsibility is considerably lightened by the assurance that I may count upon your generous co-operation in rendering my task less difficult than it might otherwise be, and in giving to our discussions that vigorous and yet moderate tone which alone is worthy of so important a gathering as ours, representing the 70 millions of His Imperial Majesty's Musalman subjects in this great continent.

The Delhi Outrage

But before dealing with the important problems which I propose to discuss to-day, I desire, on behalf of the Indian Musalmans, to offer our respectful and sincere congratulations to His Excellency the Viceroy on his recovery from the effect of the injuries resulting from the dastardly outrage committed by some despicable miscreant on December 25. The universal chorus of condemnation of that inhuman act by His Imperial Majesty's Indian subjects belonging to all classes and creeds, and the remarkable display of genuine sympathy for Their Excellencies

personally on that deplorable occasion, have placed it beyond even a shadow of doubt that the heart-strings of the Indian people ring absolutely true. Indeed this cold-blooded act of some follower of a most abominable cult, hitherto foreign to Eastern ideals and traditions, finds no sympathy among any class of His Majesty's faithful subjects in this country. Who could have even imagined that on such auspicious day and in the midst of general rejoicings, this apostle of anarchism would select for his victim the central figure of a stately procession—a Viceroy who, during the comparatively short period he has been at the helm of the Indian administration, has won for himself a conspicuous place in the hearts of the Indian people by his keen solicitude for their welfare? Who could have even conceived the possibility of an outrage like this aimed at the life of one who has already done so much to satisfy that greatest of our country's immediate needs, a wider diffusion of elementary education among the Indian masses? The recrudescence of anarchism evidenced by this and other outrages, recently committed in certain parts of the country, constitutes a most deplorable feature of the existing situation.

Alas! these misguided terrorists do not realize the infinite harm which results from their evil propaganda to the cause of peaceful progress in India. These horrible crimes, aimed against law and order, must inevitably put back the hands of the clock and retard the onward march at a period when every step forward means so much for the ultimate regeneration of our people. It is the bounden duty of all law-abiding citizens got only to assist the authorities in the detection of the perpetrators of these horrid crimes but also to make an earnest and well-organized effort to stamp out this fell disease which, if unchecked, is sure to eat into the very vitals of the Indian community. Thus alone will this hideous blot upon the fair name of our motherland be obliterated: thus alone will our people advance peacefully along the path that leads to those glorious heights whereon India shall occupy, within the Empire of Great Britain, that eminent position to which she may legitimately aspire.

Genesis of the New Constitution

advancing in race for intellectual progress and political emancipation is absolutely unparalleled in the past history of mankind. The increasing spread of socialistic doctrines in the West and the growing influence of constitutional ideals in the East are producing a succession of political changes bewildering to the thoughtful student of world politics. In India itself, hardly had the first Reformed Councils settled down to business, not having completed even the second year of their infantine existence, when the memorable visit of our august Sovereign brought in its wake far-reaching administrative changes, unsettling 'settled fact', and awoke in the patriotic mind dreams of further constitutional reforms foreshadowed in the now famous Despatch of the Government of India. The All-India Muslim League, being an essentially progressive political institution, could no longer rest content with the Pre-Reform Constitution which had been the basis of its operations ever since its foundation in December 1906. And yet practical statesmanship required that the necessary revision of the League's Constitution should be carried out on lines which, while assimilating its policy and practice to the altered political conditions, would constitute but the next stage in the process of a natural and spontaneous evolution without, in any way, creating a wide break with the past.

With this end in view and after certain preliminary discussions in Calcutta on the occasion of the last Anniversary of the League, my friend Syed Wazir Hasan issued, in April 1912, a circular letter to all the Provincial Leagues calling for suggestions in connection with the proposed revision; and finally, having prepared the amended objects and rules, placed them before the meeting of the Council held at Bankipur last December 31 under the presidency of our princely leader. His Highness the Aga Khan. The proposed constitution thus prepared and adopted by the Council, with certain modifications, will be placed before you by our able and energetic Secretary, whose valuable work in connection with this all-important matter is deserving of special recognition. For my own part I have, after giving it my most careful and anxious consideration, no hesitation in declaring that the revised Constitution complies with the two fundamental tests mentioned by me, and have great pleasure in commending it to your approval. The aims and methods laid down therein, while perfectly consonant with those salutary

principles which constitute the quintessence of real statesman ship, are fully adapted to the existing political conditions and constitute a natural step forward in the progressive development of All-India Muslim League. A comparison of the aims and objects of our organization as embodied in its existing Constitution with those now proposed will make the correctness of this statement absolutely clear.

Objects of the League

According to the revised Constitution, the first object of the League is "to maintain and promote among the people of this country feelings of loyalty towards the British Crown". The substitution of the words 'the people of this country' in place of 'Indian Musalmans' and 'British Crown' in place of 'British Government' constitutes a distinct improvement which, I have no doubt, you will unhesitatingly accept. The traditional loyalty of the Indian Musalmans to the Empire, under the banner of which we live in peace and prosperity, does not need to be proclaimed with a flourish of trumpets: nor is it one of those mono polies the successful possession of which depends upon extensive advertisement. The solid foundation of our loyalty rests not upon its profession, but upon deeds the incontrovertible proof of which is written large upon the pages of history. And the substitution of the words 'British Crown' in place of 'British Government' in relation to our devotion to the Empire of which India is a component part constitutes a more dignified and faithful expression of our real feelings.

The ever-changing succession of political phenomena due to the prevalence of the party system of Government in England makes it difficult for one to regard the 'British Government' as the unchanging symbol of Imperialism. The Government is now Liberal: to-morrow it may be Unionist. Do the Unionists acknowledge loyalty to the Liberal Government now in power? Would the Liberals admit loyalty to the Unionist Government if, instead of occupying the Treasury Benches as they now do, they were driven into the opposition? And the recent illiberal policy of the Liberal Government towards Muslim States has but confirmed me in the distrust, which I have always entertained, of the high-sounding principles of liberalism loudly

proclaimed but seldom acted upon by its apostles. Be that as it may, the Government in Great Britain or, in other words, the 'British Government' denotes change, while our loyalty to the Empire is unchanging and unchangeable. It is the British Crown alone which is the permanent and ever-abiding symbol of Empire. It is not to this Government or to that that we acknowledge allegiance: It is to the British Crown itself that we owe unswerving and abiding loyalty.

But what, you will ask, is my conception of loyalty to the British Crown? In my humble judgment, it is the paramount duty of every loyal subject of the King Emperor to abstain from doing anything calculated to impair the permanence and stability of British rule in India. And as the happiness and contentment of the people is the only bed-rock upon which that permanence and stability can be securely built, I regard it as the duty of all loyalists to assist the Government in all measures undertaken to bring about that happiness and contentment by representing, faithfully and fearlessly, the real needs and feelings of the people. The British Government in India suffers from disabilities natural to the position of a Western Government in the midst of an Oriental people. And these disabilities are unfortunately not lessened by the policy of social aloofness adopted by a large section of European officialdom in this country. It is, therefore, incumbent upon those who pose as the spokesmen of Indian public opinion to represent the real needs and wishes of the people with that scrupulous honesty which alone is worthy of honourable men and of sincere well-wishers of the Government and the country. And, as it may occasionally happen, if the Government is about to launch an administrative or a legislative measure detrimental to the best interests of the Government and the people, it is the bounden duty of a loyal citizen to warn it of the consequences of its mistaken policy. The man who, knowing that the contemplated action is not suited to the circumstances of the country, or will give rise to legitimate dissatisfaction among the people, intentionally and his own selfish ends, misrepresents the situation to the authorities is a traitor to the loyal cause.

> Dost a'nast ke maaib-i-dost Hamcho aeena roo-ba-roo goyad

Na ke choon shana ba hazar zuban Dar pas-e-pusht moo-ba-moo goyad

Speaking of Muslim loyalty at the anniversary of the Punjab Muslim League on October 22, 1909, I said: "We know that the authorities in India as well as in England have, in the past, committed errors of policy and even blunders in their administration of the affairs of this country, and we recognize that they are liable to commit such errors and blunders again. And if, in its watchfulness of the best interests of the rulers and the ruled, the Muslim League finds the Government about to commit what in its judgment is an error, it will be the first to give warning to the authorities and, if necessary, even to enter a respectful protest against the contemplated action." This, gentlemen, is and has always been my conception of loyalty to the worldwide Empire, the citizenship of which is one of our proudest possesions.

Protection and Advancement of Muslim Rights and Interests

Passing on to the second object as embodied in the revised Constitution, the League has undertaken, as one of its principal tasks, the protection and advancement of the political and other rights of Indian Musalmans. Mere verbal modifications apart, the object herein described is one of those we have had in view from the very inception of our organization. And this undoubtedly is as it should be. Under the existing political conditions in India, it is perfectly natural for the Muslim community to aspire to its legitimate share in the legislative and administrative machinery of the country, and for its representative organization to take active steps for the protection and advancement of the community's rights and interests. Nevertheless, this naturally distinctive feature of the League's activities, and more particularly the part it has played in securing the right of separate representation for Indian Musalmans, has not only furnished a certain class of politicians an opportunity for intentional misrepresentation of our aims, but has also created an entire misapprehension of our position in the minds of certain well-intentioned students of Indian politics. We have been branded as separatists: we have been charged with the evil intention of seeking to erect a permanent iron wall between the various Indian communities! I propose to-day to notice but one instance of each of these two absolutely untenable positions taken up by our critics.

Only a few months ago, the president of a provincial conference, held in the Imperial City of Delhi, while speaking of the Muslim attitude in relation to Indian politics, stated that "The separatist policy is in the ascendency (sic) at present, and our Mohammedan brethren regard themselves as 'exiles' in India which, like the Anglo-Indians, they are pleased to call 'the land of regrets'." The mischievous insinuation contained in these words was obviously intended for that portion of the gallery to whom the word 'Pan-Islamism' is like the proverbial red rag, and is too contemptible to need any rejoinder on our part. This is particularly so when we remember that the insinuation came from one whose political creed, to quote from another part of his address, is summed up in the following remarkable sentence: "All measures that satisfy the end are justifiable and all else that abstruct the path are to be removed." Fortunately for our country, this Jesuistic policy finds no support among the vast majority of our enlightened Hindu brethren and, in consequence, may be put aside as unworthy of further notice.

Let's turn to a typical instance of those well-intentioned people who, because of a superficial knowledge of the Indian political conditions, have entirely misunderstood our position. In his book, The Awakening of India, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald conceives that the life of Indian Musalman is "centered round a shrine, not round a political capital", that in India they are "a community only". The opinion thus expressed is based upon such absolute and utter misapprehension of the Muslim position in India that I deem it essential to disabuse the mind not only of our distinguished visitor, but also of those who, whether in England or in India, may entertain similar views.

The Muslim Position in India

The heterogeneous mass of the Indian population consists of a number of communities which, with the expansion of modern education and culture, are coming more and more under the unifying influences of an increasing community of interests.

But in a large continent like India, with a population of over 300 million, this process of unification must, in the very nature of things, be gradual. Meanwhile, the religious, historical and social traditions and ideals which influence the communal lives of the various groups have produced complicated results which find no parallel in any other country in the world. There are the descendants of the pre-Aryan aborigines of India, including what are called the 'Depressed Classes,' who have, for thousands of years occupied a position of subservience and, in consequence, are possessed of very little political vitality. Next comes the great Hindu community, descendants of Aryan conquerors of old, whose faculty of adaptability to changing circumstances is indeed marvelous, and who have, in consequence, already assimilated themselves to the altered conditions brought into existence by British rule. Then we have, playing their part upon the Indian political stage, 70 millions of His Majesty's Musalman subjects occupying a unique position of their own. Further, there are the stalwart Sikh races of the Punjab, themselves divided into two schools, one looking upon their community as part of the Hindu section of our population, and the other claiming a separate identity with separate rights and interests. The situation is further complicated by the presence of that comparatively small yet wonderfully enterprising community of Parsis who, by reason of having imbibed up-to-date ideas, have deservedly gained an importance out of all proportion to their numbers. And, lastly, there is the Christian element—European, Eurasian and Indian—which, very naturally. occupies a predominant position, the attendant advantages of which are too obvious to need description.

Now, the Indian Musalmans consists of two sections: firstly, those who, themselves being descendants of the pre-Aryan aborigines or the Aryan settlers in India, were converted to Islam during the long centuries of Muslim ascendency in this country and, secondly, those who are descendants of the Muslim conquerors from the West. It is obvious that the former are as much Indians as our Hindu brethren, and the latter, having settled in India centuries ago and having made it their permanent home, have as vital a stake in the material prosperity and political progress of their motherland as any other section of the Indian population. But there is, in this connection, a fact of

great political importance which must not be lost sight of. The majority of Indian Musalmans belong to agricultural or quasi-agricultural classes and are, therefore, relatively more identified with the permanent Indian interests than the other classes of our population. Under these undeniable circumstances, it is but natural that the warm blood of Indian patriotism courses through the veins of Indian Musalmans with the same vitality as is the case with those articulate classes whose patriotic spirit finds loud expression from the public platform and in the press.

But the fact that they are Indians is naturally, in their case, productive of an ardent desire to play, on the Indian political stage, a role to which they are, by reason of their important position, legitimately entitled. And so long as the evolution of a common Indian nationality, which all genuine well-wishers of the country must sincerely long for, does not become an accomplished fact, it is obviously natural, on the part of Indian Musalmans, to seek to protect their communal interests by securing their due share in the administrative and legislative machinery of the country. Why anybody should grudge us that share, I have never been able to understand. Why we should be looked upon as separatists because we claim but what is our due, passes my comprehension. A joint family system in which the junior member must be content to sink his individuality and to remain under the permanent tutelage of the Karta is foreign to our religious, political and social traditions. Our Hindu brethren ought to realize that a discontented member. smarting under a conviction that he is being deprived of his natural rights, is but a source of weakness to the family as a whole.

Separate Representation

The provisions securing separate representation to the Muslim minority in India, embodied in the Scheme of Reforms introduced in 1909, is but the recognition of a perfectly legitimate claim calculated to remove this source of weakness in the great family of communities which constitute the Indian population. And in view of the fact that the equitable principle of minority representation has been formally and fully recognized by the present Radical Government even in the case of Ireland—the

political conditions of which are, relatively, less complicated than those at present existing in this country—the soundness of our position with regard to separate representation of Muslim interests becomes unquestionable. But there is one aspect of this important problem which needs special mention and is worthy of careful consideration by all advocates of Indian nationalism. Recent experiences have, more than ever, placed it beyond all doubt that mixed electorates, particularly in Northern India, are 'mixed' only in name and are productive of an amount of irritation in the highest degree detrimental to the cause of intercommunal co-operation. The removal of this periodically recurring cause of friction will itself be a powerful agency for the evolution of a common Indian nationality. And, when satisfied by their respective representation in the various stages of selfgovernment, communities will have learnt to work together in complete harmony, other unifying forces coming into operation will hasten the advent of that happy period when, under altered conditions productive of mutual confidence, separate electorates may no longer be necessary. Replying to the Address presented to him at Lahore by the Punjab Muslim League on April 1, 1911, His Excellency Lord Hardinge confirmed the pledges given by Lords Morley and Minto to Indian Musalmans in the following words: "I have listened with pleasure to your appreciation to the Scheme of Reforms so recently introduced and note your quickness to appreciate the confirmation by my Government in the Legislative Council of the pledges that have been given to you. You may rest assured that pledges once given by Government will not be broken. Whether or when you may yourself come forward to say that you no longer require the privilege of separate representation. I cannot say—but if such a day comes, it will be evidence of a spirit of mutual toleration and enlightened progress which could not but be a happy augury for the peace and welfare of your motherland." The statesmanlike pronouncement made by His Excellency in these words, breathing assurance for the present and hope for the future, furnishes an object-lesson not only for the Indian Musalmans but for our non-Muslim brethren as well. The acceleration of the happy period foreshadowed in these prophetic words rests mainly in the hands of the ardent advocates of mixed electorates themselves. And, on behalf of my community, I can mon Indian nationality is in sight, when the perfect mutual goodwill and confidence alluded to by Lord Hardinge has become an accomplished fact, the Musalman community shall not be found wanting in their earnest endeavour to assist in the conversion of the dim light of the early morning into the dazzling brightness of the midday sun. Until the advent of that happy day alone shall we hold the Government to the pledges given to us—releasing it from their continued fulfilment when, under the aegis of the British Crown, the evolution of a common Indian nationality is in sight.

Inter-Communal Union

The spirit in which the Muslim League seeks to promote Musalman interests is clear from the third Object, as revised, which, in its essentials, is but a verbatim reproduction of one of the three aims embodied in the existing Constitution. For sometime after the advent of British rule in this country. Indian Musalmans, owing to circumstances partly beyond their control. lagged behind the other communities in the race for intellectual progress. And when, under the inspiring guidance of their great leader, the late Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan, they at last awoke to the needs of the time, it was but natural that they should, at first, concentrate their attention and energies upon the acquisition of modern education. It was towards the end of 1905 that they turned their active attention to politics: and the force of circumstances, during the first few years of their political awakening, compelled them to devote the greater part of their energies to the protection of their communal interests. That necessary foundation having now been laid, the Council of the League has acted wisely in proposing the removal of the qualifying words prefixed to the corresponding Object as laid down in the old Constitution and in giving it a distinct place by itself, thus emphasizing the League's intention of paying greater attention to the problem of inter-communal union and cooperation in the second stage of its development. Not only do the strained relations existing between the Hindu and Mohammedan communities, particularly in upper India, retard the peaceful progress of the country and result in infinite harm to

the communities themselves, but they, at the same time, create for the Government administrative and other difficulties by no means easy of solution. All sincere well-wishers of the country are united in deploring this most unfortunate state of things and, of late, signs have not been wanting of a genuine desire, on the part of the leaders on both sides, to face this problem in real earnestness. In my humble judgment, the time for loud professions and even emphatic declarations is over: every day which passes without definite action is a day lost to the sacred cause of Indian nationality (sic). Are we to continue to wait until unanimity of views all along the line has been reached? Are we to go on being at arm's length even where we can co-operate simply because in other matters we are, at present, unable to see eye to eye? Does not human experience show that partial cooperation is often the most effective instrument in bridging over the gulf in its entirety? If this is so, why wait until absolute agreement in respect of every point of difference is attained?

A Practical Proposal for Joint Action

There are a number of matters of the utmost importance, affecting the vital interests of the motherland, with reference to which we are already in complete agreement: there are a number of grave problems a speedy and effective solution of which depends mainly on our united action. Let us take them into our hands at once and make an earnest and well-organized effort to grapple with them. And when once we have tasted the lifegiving pleasures of mutual co-operation for the good of our country, by reaping the luscious fruits of our united labour, mutual confidence and goodwill resulting therefrom will bring about complete harmony of feeling and unanimity of views even as regards matters upon which there is, at present, divergence of opinion among us. Practical steps towards the evolution of a common Indian nationality, the establishment of conciliation boards and mixed social clubs, extended employment of Indians in the higher grades of the Public Services, separation of executive and judicial branches, a wide diffusion of free elementary education among the Indian masses, improvement of sanitation, particularly in rural areas, increased prosperity of indigenous industries and fiscal reform connected therewith, abolition of frequent recurrence of land revenue settlements, treatment of Indians in the British Colonies, grant of Executive Councils and High Courts to the provinces which are still without these institutions, constitute a long enough catalogue of national problems of the highest moment upon which we can all set to work together. Do these important questions not call for immediate co-operation on the part of all true sons of the soil? Do these momentous problems not furnish a sufficient common basis for united action by the various Indian communities? Let us, then, at once start a 'United India League' open to all classes and creeds, with provincial and district branches, and thus organize the whole country for the great and glorious work connected with this chain of vital problems. With all the earnestness I can command, I appeal to the leaders of all communities to give serious consideration to this practical proposal and to join hands in giving definite shape to a scheme which I, for one, sincerely believe will not only be fruitful in immense good to our country, but will, at the same time, hasten the evolution of a common Indian nationality.

The Ultimate Goal

At the time of the foundation of the All-India Muslim League in December, 1906, it was to begin with, considered sufficient to lay down the basic principles of the League's policy without attempting to formulate definitely the final end to be kept in view. The course then adopted was, I venture to think, perfectly consonant with principles of practical statesmanship. For a communal organization like the Muslim League, launching into the stormy ocean of Indian politics at a time when momentous constitutional changes were in contemplation, to have laid down, on the day of its birth, definitely and once for all, the ultimate goal of its future activities would have been wellnigh suicidal. But full six years have passed since then—years of stress and strife—during which a great deal of experience has been gained, all important political problems have been discussed on the occasion of the various anniversaries, and a considerable amount of work has been successfully accomplished. Moreover, many undercurrents of the Indian political ocean have now risen to the surface, enabling us to form a more or

less correct judgment about the future.

Your Council, therefore, felt that the time had arrived when, to the three objects embodying the basic principles of our policy, we could safely add a fourth, laying down the ultimate goal which the League ought to have in view. And in arriving at a correct decision concerning this all-important question, the Council had to bear in mind not only the three basic principles of the League's policy, but also the past traditions of the Indian Musalman community, the various pronouncements made by those who have hitherto guided its political activities, and the principles underlying the various resolutions passed by it from time to time. After a careful analysis of the Indian political situation and of the trend of political events in the country, the Council has proposed "the attainment, under the aegis of the British Crown, of a system of self-government suitable to India" as the final goal towards which our activities ought to be directed. The announcement of this proposal has caused a shaking of heads, curiously enough, in two opposite camps. While, on the one hand, a section of the forward school is of opinion that we are not aiming high enough, on the other hand, some of the more cautious, in India as well as in England, have raised their eyebrows as if we are about to advance at a pace too rapid for our safety. The very fact that two such diametrically opposite criticisms have been advanced against the course we propose to adopt is, to my mind, conclusive proof of its soundness. It is my deliberate judgment that the fourth object as suggested by the Council is based upon perfectly sound principles and fully satisfies the two great tests of moderation and political foresight. The adoption of the alternative proposal put forward by some of our friends that the League should set up a 'colonial form of government in India' as its ultimate goal is in my opinion inadmissible as well as politically unsound. The political conditions, internal and external, prevailing in the British Colonies have no analogy whatsoever with those obtaining in India, and I am in entire accord with my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Jinnah in thinking that the adoption of any course other than the one proposed by the Council would be obsolutely unwise. Moreover, for a political organization in a country circumstanced as India is, and more particularly when passing through a transitional period, adoption of a definite form of government as the ultimate goal of its ambitions is opposed to the principles of practical statesmanship. Discussing this very question at the second anniversary of the Punjab Muslim League over three years ago, I ventured to emphasize the impossibility, on our part, of fixing 'Colonial Swaraj' as the final goal of our political activities, and expressed it as my definite opinion that "a reasonable measure of self-government with due regard to the rights and interests of the various communities inhabiting the Indian continent" was the end we ought to keep in view. It will thus be seen that the decision arrived at by the Council is in perfect harmony with the view I have always entertained concerning this important problem; and I have, in consequence, very great pleasure indeed in recommending its unanimous adoption by this representative gathering.

The Public Service Commission

The extended employment of His Majesty's Indian subjects in the higher grades of the Public Services is undoubtedly one of the best trainings for self-government, under the aegis of the British Crown, which the people of this country can obtain. The Public Service Commission of 1886-87 and its Report concerning this important administrative problem are now ancient history. Meanwhile, the various provinces of India have, under the peaceful conditions brought into existence by British Rule, forged ahead in the race for material and intellectual progress. The results, on the general prosperity of the country as well as upon the awakening of new aspirations and ideals among the Indian people, have indeed been remarkable. The time has now arrived for a thorough overhauling of the administrative machinery of the Indian Empire and for a careful consideration of the legitimate claims of the people of this country to their due share in the higher branches of the Public Service. The Royal Commission on the Public Service in India, therefore, comes at a psychological moment, and we, the Indian Musalmans, join with the rest of our countrymen in voicing our deep satisfaction on its appointment, and in expressing a hope that the inquiry now going on will result not only in bringing the administrative machinery uptodate, but also in the due balancing of the European and Indian elements in the Service. On behalf of the All-

India Muslim League, I venture to offer our cordial welcome to Lord Islington and his colleagues, and to express a sincere hope that, in weighing the relative claims of the various interests in connection with the responsible task undertaken by them, they will bear in mind the fact that there is nothing better calculated to strengthen the political connection between England and India, nothing which can, in a higher degree, further the cause of the permanence and stability of British rule in this country than the happiness and contentment of the people resulting from the satisfaction of their legitimate claims and aspirations.

Avoiding a detailed reference to the questions which form the subject of enquiry, and without entering into a discussion of the points with regard to which there is room for honest difference of opinion, there are a few important matters of principle in connection with which I venture to offer a few observations. A careful study of public opinion in this country makes it abundantly clear that there is, at present, a practical unanimity among the educated section of the Indian population concerning the method of recruitment for the Indian Civil Service. I believe I am voicing your unanimous opinion when I say that the time has now arrived when a fair share of the vacancies in that Service should be filled by recruitment in India. We are, I think, further agreed that such recruitment should be made partly by means of promotion from the Provincial Civil Service and partly by a competitive examination held in this country. We are, I venture to affirm, also agreed that in selecting officers of the Provincial Civil Service for promotion to posts ordinarily held by members of the Indian Civil Service regard must be had to personal merit, provincial claims and communal representation. As regards the nature of the competitive examination to be held in India—whether it should be what is called a simultaneous examination or a separate examination, and if the latter, whether it should be an open competitive examination between selected candidates—I do not propose to anticipate to-day the evidence which I have to give before the Royal Commission.

There is, further, a practical unanimity of opinion among us that the complete separation of the executive and judicial branches of both the Indian and Provincial Civil Services is a much-needed reform which ought no longer to be delayed. The All-India Muslim League has, on more than one occasion, already

expressed itself in clear and emphatic terms with reference to this important question. I venture to assure Lord Islington and his colleagues that the carrying out of this necessary reform alone will inspire the Indian Public with the complete confidence in the administration of justice which is absolutely essential in the interests alike of the Government and the country. It is, further, in the highest degree essential that the judicial branch of the two Services should be strengthened by devising a system of special training for officers of that branch, and by appointing selected members of the Bar to these appointments in larger number than has been the case hitherto. These are matters of principle to which I desire, on your behalf, to invite the attention of the Royal Commission and to assure them that a right solution of these vital problems will prove an affective means of removing the dissatisfaction which undoubtedly does exist among a considerable section of the educated classes in this country with reference to the existing conditions in the Indian and Provincial Civil Services.

The Muslim World Outside India

From a discussion of our country's internal affairs I now pass on to a review of recent occurrences in the Muslim world outside India. At the time of our last anniversary, the world was witnessing a heroic struggle on the part of a devoted band of undisciplined Arabs in Tripoli against the combined naval and military forces of a civilized European Power. On a pretext, absolutely unjustifiable by the rules of international law, the Italian armies had invaded Tripoli and had, under the shelter of a powerful navy, taken possession of a narrow strip of the northern coast of that Turkish province. Such was the wonderful resistance offered by the handful of Turkish regulars and their Arab allies that the Italian cannonade from naval and land batteries, the bursting of shells dropped from aeroplanes and the bayonet charges of a highly trained infantry, could produce no appreciable effect upon the desert warriors' heroic defence of their hearths and homes. The Great Powers of Europe took no steps to stop this unwarrantable aggression by a civilized Power, save in preventing the Turco-Italian war from being waged upon European soil. But this very limitation of theatre

of war proved the bane of Turkey. Lulled by a false sense of security as regards their European possessions, the Turkish leaders did not concentrate their attention and energies upon measures calculated to safeguard the Empire against approaching dangers. Suddenly the war-clouds gathered along the northern and western frontiers of European Turkey. The Balkan Confederacy demanded certain reforms in Albania and Macedonia almost at the point of the bayonet. The Great Powers of Europe joined their heads together and, with a view to preventing an outbreak of hostilities in the Near East, entered into an exchange of views in order to take the question of reforms in the two Turkish provinces into their own hands. But the petty Balkan States were evidently too clever for the great statesmen of Europe! Twenty-four hours before the despatch of the Powers' note to the Porte, the Balkan Confederacy sent their ultimatum; and soon after, the petty State of Montenegro declared war on Turkey. In vain did the Turkish ministers, and even the Sultan himself, appeal to the Great Powers to prevent the outbreak of this unrighteous war upon a pretext absolutely contrary to international law. What reply, one may ask, would the United States of America receive if, at the instance of the American Irish Party, the Government of that country were to serve England with an ultimatum demanding autonomy for Ireland? What would be the answer of Russia if Germany were to demand home rule for Poland at the point of the bayonet? This utterly unjustifiable action of the Balkan States was followed by the inevitable conflagration in the Near East which has brought untold misery to millions of people on both sides. The Great Powers of Europe, outwitted by the Balkan statesmen, did not move even their little finger to stem the flood. They rested content with the declaration that, whatever the result, a disturbance in the territorial status quo would not be permitted. Entangled in a disastrous war at home, the Porte was compelled to abandon the Tripolitan Arabs to their fate. Being really unprepared for the sudden invasion of their territory all along the land frontiers, the Turks lost battle after battle in quick succession until the Balkan armies were effectually checked in front of the famous Schatalia lines. The bands of heroes in Adrianople, Skutari and a few other places held out against fearful odds and, by their stubborn defence, vindicated the honour of the

Turkish race. The victories of the Balkan States were acclaimed by some of the European races as triumphs of the Cross over the Crescent. Even the Liberal Prime Minister of the greatest Muslim Power in the world, regardless of the feelings of 100 millions of His Majesty's Musalman subjects, rejoiced at the fall of Salonica on the ground of its having been the gate through which Christianity had entered Europe. The inhuman and unspeakable atrocities upon innocent non-combatants of both sexes were excused by our Foreign Secretary on the extraordinary ground that they had been committed by irregular bands! For the first time in modern history, a section of the European press openly proclaimed the startling doctrine that the Turks had no right to remain in Europe, as if the Eastern races of Russia and the Balkan States had a greater claim to European territory than the Turks owing to difference in religious belief! Then commenced negotiations for peace in the great metropolis of the British Empire, and upon the European political stage was enacted a farce unparalleled in modern history. The Balkan States demanded, as a part of the conditions of peace, not only the territories actually conquered by them, but even cities and islands which, as yet, they had not succeeded in capturing. And in this extraordinary demand they were supported by the Great Powers of Europe! The former declarations of European chancelleries were thrown to the wind because, it was said, the victors could not be robbed of the fruit of their victories, and accomplished facts could not be ignored. Glancing backwards over a hundred years, is there a single European war in which the conquering nation has ever retained the whole of the conquered territory? What was the result of the great war between Napolean, on the one hand, and England and Germany on the other? Did Germany keep the entire fruits of her victory over France? Was Turkey allowed to retain those parts of the Greek Kingdom which the victorious Turkish armies overran only a few years ago? Unbiased students of international law were surprised at the extraordinary character of these negotiations for peace, and wondered if in this enlightened age, the old adage, 'might is right', was to be substituted for the equitable doctrines

^{1.} Obviously in the sense of the British Empire then containing a larger Muslim population than any other country or empire.

laid down by great jurists and writers on the laws of nations! Indeed the history of the Balkan War furnishes us with ample proof of the correctness of what the London correspondent of the Civil and Military Gazette has said in his weekly letter published in the issue of March 11,1913. "I venture to think", says he, "that the usages of war are designed for the entertainment of philanthropists during the periods of peace. Military nations educated on Bernardi principles will find all operations justifiable if they are calculated to have the effect of crushing the enemy."

To this unvarnished statement of fact, I do not propose to add anything except a few words concerning the policy pursued by the Liberal Cabinet in England, not only regarding affairs in the Near East, but also in some parts of the Asiatic continent. Fully conscious of the heavy responsibility which rests upon my shoulders as the President of this great gathering, and as a sincere well-wisher of England, I desire to state what, in my humble judgment, has been the net result of the foreign policy pursued by Sir Edward Grey. Is the British position in the Mediterranean Sea—that highway to India the safety of which is so absolutely essential to the permanence and stability of the British Empire in the East—as strong at present as it was when the Liberal Party came into power? A member of the Triple Alliance has been allowed to take possession of a considerable length of northern coast of Africa, formerly in the hands of a friendly Muslim state, and thus obtain complete sway over the two opposite shores of the Mediterranean. If the nightmare of German occupation was disturbing Sir Edward Grey's mental equilibrium, surely British diplomacy could devise a safer way of averting the danger of German usurpation. In the Near Eastthe glorious memories of the Crimean War and of the famous Charge of the Light Brigade absolutely forgotten—the slav races have been allowed to gain the upper hand, and may some day become a serious menace to British interests in the eastern corner of the Mediterranean. In the pursuit of his anti-German policy and regardless of ultimate consequences. Sir Edward Grey has been throwing himself into the arms of Russia. And the results of this policy have, to my mind, been far more serious than what our Liberal statesmen seem to imagine. Russia has succeeded in obtaining practical control of northern Persia, will soon have mastery over Mongolia, and those who have been gifted with political foresight can already notice signs of Russian intrigues in Tibet. Her path to the sea being effectually blocked by Japan in the East, the Russian advance to the South is slowly but steadily progressing onward; and, if Sir Edward Grey remains the arbiter of British foreign policy for long, the Muslim states in Asia will ultimately be swallowed up by the Russian Empire to the detriment, not only of Islam, but also of the British Empire in the East.

This rapid succession of disastrous events in the Muslim world has very naturally produced a profound effect on Muslim opinion and sentiment in India. Our sympathy has gone out, spontaneously and unstintedly, to our suffering brethren in the Near East and the north of Persia. I have nothing but unqualified praise for the great monetary sacrifices which our brethren in this country have willingly incurred in order to afford relief to the Turkish sufferers: I fully share with them the deep sorrow with which our hearts are filled at the unmerited troubles and afflictions which an unwarranted aggression has brought upon the brave Turkish race. The Indian Muslim world rightly regards the organized action of certain European powers to extripate Turkish rule from European soil as absolutely unworthy of a civilized age, and does not and cannot subscribe to the curious doctrine that Turkey must, in future, be content to remain a purely Asiatic Power. Indeed Muslim feeling in this country has been deeply stirred by the chain of extraordinary events which have taken place in Tripoli, Persia and Turkey. Fortunately for Muslim interests at this critical juncture, there is, at the helm of the Indian administration, a far-sighted statesman who has felt the pulse of Muslim feeling with a precision which has won him our sincere respect and admiration. The active sympathy shown by Lord Hardinge and his noble Consort for our suffering Turkish brethren, the lead taken by Their Excellencies in collecting subscriptions for the relief of the wounded and the distressed in this unrighteous war and the wise pronouncements made by His Excellency, from time to time, have gained for him the deep gratitude of 70 millions of His Majesty's Musalman subjects in India. On your behalf, I venture earnestly to appeal to His Excellency to warn the Liberal Cabinet of the consequences of the mistaken policy which they have

hitherto pursued and to bring home to them the conviction that, in allowing a free hand to the Czars of Russia and Bulgaria, our Government is committing a political blunder of the greatest magnitude, the ultimate consequences of which are bound to be highly detrimental to British interests in the East.

Lessons of the Turkish Crisis

Gloomy though the outlook in the Muslim world abroad is, there is one question connected therewith which merits our consideration. What are the lessons which the people of this country in general and the Musalman community in particular ought to take to their hearts from these sad occurrences? Had the Turkish leaders, instead of being engaged in internecine strife, been united in putting their own house in order, would the results not have been entirely different? Is this very curse of disunion not eating into the vitals of our own community in India? The quarrels between various religious sects and the wrangling which is going on between the spokesmen of various political schools are indeed heart-breaking. Those who are wasting their intellectual gifts in active criticism of Muslim workers who have the misfortune to differ with them in their methods of action should remember that constructive work, not destructive criticism, is the greatest need of the community in this transitional period. There are a hundred and one urgent communal needs crying aloud for united action on the part of those who are inspired with genuine enthusiasm for the national cause. Why waste your precious energies, why squander the gifts with which a bountiful Providence has endowed you in carrying on internecine strife fatal to national regeneration? Abandon party strife, for in it lies destruction: close your ranks for in that alone is salvation.

Would the Turkish race have had to face the misfortunes of which they have been victims in recent years if, instead of relying on the support of this power or that, they had trusted to their own God-given genius and put forth their own national strength for the regeneration of their motherland? In these days of world-wide competition, when nations are vying with each other for the triumph of self, the race which bases its future hopes, not mainly upon its own exertions, but upon patronage of others builds its castle on sand. "Innallaha la Yughayyiro

ma bigaumin hatta Yughayyiroo ma be anfusihim", is as true to-day as it was 14 centuries ago, when, like a trumpet-call, it roused the Saracens from their deep slumbers and brought about, from within, an intellectual, moral and material change which has ever evoked wonder and admiration in the mind of the unbiased historian. External causes may compel you to quicken your onward pace; but they can never supply the place of those great forces which, springing from within your own selves, can alone impart to the national movement that vitality which is absolutely essential to the sacred cause of national regeneration. And in trusting to your own God-given genius to help you in the onward march, you must remember that permanent progress is dependent upon gradual evolution and not revolution. As I said on another occasion, nations are like the English oak, magnificent and strong when allowed spontaneous growth in God's free air, dwarfed and hideous if forced to grow in a hothouse. In India a wise Providence has placed you under the protection of an enlightened government, the liberal policy of which has provided you with every facility and every means for working out your own regeneration. Let us, therefore, make up our minds, once for all, that in self-reliance alone lies the secret of national success.

Unity, moderation and self-reliance are the golden lessons which we, the Indian Musalmans, ought to learn from the crisis through which our brethren outside India are now passing. With these as the inspiring forces of our national progress, there is no height to which, under the aegis of the British Crown, we may not rise. Bereft of these, there is no depth to which we may not fall.¹

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu addressed the audience and asked them to serve the national cause and help India in her regeneration. She urged the Musalmans to revive the true spirit of their religion and this would, she expected, lead to the true spirit of patriotism among them. Mr. Nabiullah proposed three cheers for Mrs. Naidu, and the audience got up to show respect to her. Mr. Wazir Hasan, Secretary of the Muslim League, then read out his report.

^{1.} Presidential Address by the Hon'ble Mian Mohammad Shafi, Lahore, Popular Press. 1913.

SECOND SITTING

The second sitting commenced at 3 p.m., and the objects of the League were discussed. After prolonged and heated discussions, it was decided by an overwhelming majority to adopt as the ideal of the League the attainment, under the aegis of the British Crown, of a system of self-government suitable to India. The Muslim League ratified the change in the creed of the organization as recommended by its Council in its meeting held on December 31, 1912.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE FINAL SITTING

The following resolutions were passed by the annual meeting of the All-India Muslim League in its final sitting, on March 23, 1913:

WAKF ACT

The All-India Muslim League places on record its sense of gratification at the passing of the Musalman Wakf Validating Act 1913, which restores to Indian Muslims the full benefit of their personal law with regard to the religious institution of Wakf, and removes a serious disability from which they had suffered for a considerable time; and the League, while fully recognizing the great services rendered by the Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, P.C., and Mr. S.U. Shibli Nomani in the matter, specially congratulates the Hon. Mr. M.A. Jinnah for his skilful piloting of the measure through the Imperial Legislative Council, and tenders its grateful thanks to the Government for accepting and supporting the same in its present form.

MACEDONIAN MASSACRES

The All-India Muslim League desires to draw the attention of the British Government in England to the cumulative evidence from disinterested sources, appearing in the press of neutral countries, bearing on the Macedonian butcheries, and demands, in the name of all that is true and honest in the life of the English nation, which owes a duty to its fellow-subjects of other creeds, that the British Foreign Office should take such action with regard to the wholesale massacres and outrages that have been perpetrated by the Balkan invaders amongst the Musalman population of Macedonia, as would do credit to its sense of justice and humanity; that the League deplores the unjust war declared by the Allies against the Turkish peoples and deeply regrets the attitude of Christian Europe, which means the destruction of the Musalman power in Europe and of the integrity and honour of the Ottoman Empire; that the League views with great dissatisfaction the open expression of sympathy, by responsible ministers of the Crown, with the Balkan States in their unrighteous war on Turkey.

PERSIA

The All-India Muslim League, in view of the unsettled condition of Persia and the intensity of Muslim feeling in this country caused by the atrocities committed by Russian troops, respectfully urges upon the British Government the immediate need of using its good offices in persuading Russia to evacuate Northern Persia, thus leaving the Persian people to work out their own salvation without foreign intervention.

RECRUITMENT TO IAS

The All-India Muslim League is of opinion that the present system of recruitment by open competitive examination held in England for the Indian Civil Service entails great injustice to the Indian subjects of His Majesty, and expresses the hope that the Royal Commission on the Public Services will be able to devise a system of recruitment equally suitable to the various sections of His Majesty's subjects in India and in Great Britain.

SEPARATION OF EXECUTIVE AND JUDICIARY

The All-India Muslim League, in view of the persistent and unanimous demand on the part of all sections of the people of India for the separation of executive and judicial functions, is of opinion that the Government should be pleased to take early steps to bring into effect the desired reform.

INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE

The League is also of opinion that in the interests of efficiency it is imperatively necessary that the judicial branch of the Civil

Service be constituted into a distinct service, recruited for the most part from the Bar.

COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION

The All-India Muslim League once again records its deliberate opinion that in the interests of the Musalman community, it is absolutely necessary that the principle of communal representation be extended to all self-governing public bodies, and respectfully urges that a provision for the adequate and effective representation of the Musalmans on municipal and district boards is a necessary corollary of the application of the principle to the Imperial and the Provincial Legislative Councils, and at the same time essential to the successful working of those public bodies.

COMMUNAL HARMONY

The All-India Muslim League places on record its firm belief that the future development and progress of the people of India depend exclusively on the harmonious working and co-operation of the various communities; deprecates all mischievous attempts to widen the unfortunate breach between the Hindus and Musalmans; and hopes that the leaders on both sides will periodically meet together to restore the amicable relations prevailing between them in the past and find a modus operandi for joint and concerted action in questions of the public good.

Mr. Nabiullah, Munshi Ehtasham Ali and Hakim Ajmal Khan were elected Vice-Presidents. Mr. Wazir Hasan was elected secretary of the League amidst deafening cheers. Mr. Azhur Ali was elected joint secretary.

The meeting dispersed with a vote of thanks to the Chair.1

Chapter 15

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

SEVENTH SESSION

Agra, December 30-31, 1913

FIRST SITTING

The Seventh Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League was held at Agra on December 30-31, 1913, in the *pandal* erected in the compound of the Baptist Mission School.

Syed Alay Nabi, Chairman of the Reception Committee, addressed the gathering and said:

On behalf of the Musalmans of Agra and on my own behalf, I offer you a most respectful and cordial welcome. We thank you for the honour done to us in accepting our invitation to join the session of the League here and to take part in its deliberations. We feel proud to be able to welcome a gathering like this, representative of all the forces that make for progress and enlightenment, of all ranks, ages and shades of opinion from all parts of the country.

It is a signal honour to welcome a distinguished assembly like this, and we assure you we will long and dearly cherish memories of this gathering. Let us hope that views of the ancient monuments for which our city is so justly renowned will amply repay you for all the trouble and inconvenience which, in spite of our best efforts to make you comfortable, you may have to experience during your stay here, and that the past glories of our city, the calm and repose of its ancient monuments and their chequered history will lend colour to your discussions and produce that sobriety of thought and speech which the occasion demands.

We feel particularly proud that in this week no less than three such important bodies as the Mohammedan Educational

Conference, the All-India Muslim League, and the United Provinces Muslim League should have responded to our invitation and sat in this Hall, all animated with one common aim, the progress and advancement of the community.

In addition to those of you who have been able to come, we have received numerous letters and telegrams from a large number of men in other parts of India who for some reason or other have been debarred from attending the League. Every one must admit that we are passing through a sad and eventful period of stress and storm, and if ever there was a time to close up our ranks and present a firm, serried and united front, that time is this, for the situation is of more than ordinary gravity. It is full of difficulty and full of peril, and unless we are imbued with a strong sense of discipline and of responsibility grave consequences may ensue.

Attempts are being made in some quarters to create a division in the body of the League, to drive it into two camps in order to prevent our appearing in one solid mass, actuated by one common aim and walking along one common path, urging our demands and representing our needs to the Government from one common national platform, in the name of all of the community. I hope, however, that such attempts will meet the fate they deserve.

There is no real occasion for pessimism, especially, as I have said elsewhere, when we are guided in our deliberations by the ripe experience and mature judgment of elders, on one hand, and the well-directed zeal and enthusiasm of youth, on the other, and are ever ready to listen with respect and gratitude to the counsel and advice of all, and to act on such advice and counsel by the sanction of a majority of votes, the only test available that we know of.

The Press Act

In recent years no legislative enactment of the Government of India has aroused such wide-spread and deep dissatisfaction as the Press Act of 1910. A country owes much of its progress and enlightenment to the power of the press. A free discussion and criticism of the actions of Government is absolutely essential to the healthy existence of both Government and the people.

The unanimous judgment of the Special Bench of the High Court of Bengal on the application of Mr. Mohammad Ali about the forfeiture of the well-known pamphlet, Come Over into Macedonia, and Help Us, is enough to condemn it, as a piece of legislation quite unworthy of a civilized Government. Sir Lawrence Jenkins, in the course of his judgment, comments in the following words on the language and scope of the sections of this Act: "The language of the section is as wide as human ingenuity could make it. It is difficult to see to what lengths the operation of this section might not be plainly extended by an ingenious mind."

We have no doubt that His Excellency Lord Hardinge, who has done much to restore peace and goodwill to this land, will remove this most objectionable piece of legislation—a slur alike on the people and on the Government—from the statute-book.

The Religious Endowments Act

There is one piece of legislation more which stands in urgent need of amendment, as it is doing incalculable injury to the country.

Under Act XX of 1863 (Religious Endowments Act), a person who has once been elected or appointed as a trustee is entitled to work as such all his life. This is rather long lease, and a trustee once elected or appointed feels himself immune from all ability to anyone, except when some one is self-sacrificing enough to file a suit and spend time and money on it. Unfortunately the number of such self-sacrificing people is not great, and a trustee therefore has not the same respect and does not feel the same responsibility as he would if his election or appointment were made only for a fixed term of years. I am glad to be able to say in this connection that the Hon'ble Raja Abu Jafar of Pirpur is taking steps to move an amendment to the Act in the Imperial Legislative Council. Let us hope that it is speedily amended.

It is with great reluctance that I have to maintain here the unfortunate disturbance that occurred between Hindus and Mohammedans during the last Moharram in our city. How we wish we could have averted it. It is, however, some consolation to find that disturbances like these are confined to the masses of

the two communities, and that with them too it is a question of time. Let us hope that with the advance of education, these outbursts of feeling will disappear. It pains me a great deal to look back on the amount of time and energy spent by us over this unhappy incident which would otherwise have been much more usefully and profitably spent in your service.

In conclusion, let us thank you once more for honouring us with your visit, and let us hope that you will carry back happy memories of Agra and its people.

Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla then gave his Presidential Address to the Session.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF SIR IBRAHIM RAHIMTULLA

Gentlemen, I wish to tender my grateful thanks to you for the high honour you have conferred upon me in inviting me to preside over your deliberations at this Annual Session of the Muslim League. I clearly recognize that it is the highest honour in the gift of the community, and my appreciation is all the greater because it was spontaneously conferred.

At a time like the present, when differences of opinion are strongly asserting themselves, and there is a general feeling that the Musalmans of India have politically reached a parting of the ways, you will, I am sure, recognize how difficult is the position of your President. Gentlemen, I accepted the difficult task which you have invited me to undertake as a call of duty; and I have done so in the firm conviction that you will all extend me your earnest help and assistance in the discharge of my duties, and will willingly share the responsibility which as Musalmans attaches to each one of us. The large and representative gathering of Musalmans from all parts of India who have assembled here to-day, at great personal inconvenience, proves to my mind, beyond the shadow of a doubt, the strong vitality for organized political and public life possessed by our community. I am confident that I may safely rely upon your sincere co-operation in making an earnest effort to bridge over the difficulties which confront us in a spirit of considered compromise, so that instead of parting we shall all become solidly united again, and in this way adopt the only line of action which will ensure the steady progress of the cause we all have at heart.

In all organizations such as ours, differences of opinion must prevail. It is the application of different minds to common problems and the full and free discussion of the various aspects of given questions which lead to the formation of mature decisions and advance public interest. Holding these views, I am always anxious to welcome reasoned discussion of all questions affecting our progress and well-being—with this reservation, that after a decision has been reached, we should loyally accept it and zealously work on the lines so laid down. This policy does not necessarily mean that a decision once taken should be irrevocable. No policy in this democratic age can be laid down which should be regarded in the light of the laws of the Medes and Persians unalterable and fixed for all time. The decision so taken should be accepted as a basis to work upon, until such time as the general body of opinion may change in view of altered circumstances, greater experience, detection of flaws and drawbacks not foreseen, and similar causes. These decisions should then be reconsidered, and modified or altered as the then prevailing conditions may require. What appears to me of the utmost importance is that all discussions should be conducted on non-party and non-personal grounds, and people finding themselves in a minority should loyally accept the clearly ascertained decisions of the majority and sincerely co-operate in a spirit of military discipline in advancing the public cause on lines so laid down. Unless we are all prepared to work in furthering the cause of our community on these lines, I am afraid our progress will be retarded and very serious difficulties will continue to confront us. May I appeal to you, gentlemen, and through you to the whole of the Muslim community in India, to work for our common interests in a spirit of broadminded toleration and sincere co-operation? If we do so free from all personal considerations, bearing in mind nothing but what is best for the common good, our progress will not only be sure and certain, but will be at a rate gratifying even to the impatient spirits among us.

The Kanpur Mosque

You are all aware that for several months the Kanpur Mosque question greatly exercised the minds of Muslim community

in India; and it must have been with feelings of relief that you noticed that it was happily solved by the far-sighted statesmanship of H.E. Lord Hardinge, our esteemed and popular Viceroy. May I at this juncture remind you of the noble sentiments to which His Excellency gave expression when, at Delhi on the occasion of his official entry into the new capital of India, he presided at the first meeting of the newly constituted Legislative Council, meeting for the first time in Delhi? In the memorable speech which he delivered on the occasion, His Excellency said: "Still, whatever I may feel on the subject of the crime itself, I only wish to assure you and the whole of India that this incident will in no sense influence my attitude. I will pursue, without faltering, the same policy in the future as during the past two years, and I will not waver a hair's breadth from that course."

Who will venture to deny that Lord Hardinge has faithfully fulfilled the statesmanlike pledges he gave to the people of India on that occasion? The parental interest he has shown towards our countrymen has rightly won him the hearts of the people. This incident is valuable not merely as an episode in the history of this country: the lesson which such a policy illustrates is of inestimable value, both to Great Britain and to India. Lord Hardinge has shown what cures sincere and fatherly sympathy not in mere words of which we have had plenty in the past, but in actual practice—can easily accomplish. It has always been a marvel to me why the British officials in India do not make a studied attempt, by means of sympathy and consideration in practice, to win over the hearts of the people of this country. May I venture to tell them how ridiculously easy it is to succeed in this direction? One of the prominent characteristics of the Indian people is their highly developed sense of gratitude. In how many places, in times of stress and strain, have not the Indian people come to the rescue of Englishmen in the past, and in how many cases have they not gone to the length of sacrificing their own lives to protect the lives of Englishmen? If an attempt is seriously made by official India, as a religious duty, to try and see Indian problems from the Indian point of view, and if the official always keeps before his mind's eye that he is the servant of the people of India, he will capture the Indian imagination as nothing else will do. We shall not then hear the lamentations which are being constantly dinned into our ears, of the growing difficulties of the governance of this country. It is this policy, which Lord Hardinge has laid before him and which he is trying to carry out in practice, that has so endeared him to the Indian people. Will the lesson be taken to heart by the official world in India? If it is, they will only smooth their own path but the path of those amongst the Indian public men who have been striving, in the face of grave obstacles and impediments, to make officials realize how potent the effects of sympathy and consideration are.

Plea of Weakness

But there is a class of croakers who have said before, and will say again, that it is all very well to talk about winning the hearts of the people; but what about prestige? If Government are to surrender to every agitation started against official measures, the work of administration will become impossible and the British people under these circumstances may as well clear out of the country. It is this class of irresponsible people. though they may belong to the British race, which is largely responsible for any existing estrangement. It is people who imagine that the 'mailed fist' is the best policy who are really responsible for the increasing difficulties that confront the official world. Let us calmly and judiciously examine what this cry logically means. It can only mean that once an official has taken a decision—in most cases without consulting the views of responsible people amongst those who may be affected by such a decision—and has got it ratified by Government on ex-parte statements, it shall be irrevocable. If the decision proves distasteful to the people concerned, they have constitutionally two courses open to them: (1) to petition Government, bringing to their notice how hurtful such a decision is and to request a reconsideration of the question; (2) to continue the agitation by holding meetings, by getting interpellations put in the Legislative Councils, and by agitating in the press.

If the people affected confine themselves to the first remedy, the decision in most cases is adhered to on the ground that there was no real feeling against it amongst the people concerned.

If the agitation is carried on on the lines indicated in the second alternative, it is contended that the agitation was manufactured by a few discontented men, that they were unnecessarily exciting the people who are always supposed to be quite content to accept the decisions emanating from Government sources. When this plea, however, is found untenable and the officials are obliged to recognize that the agitation is wellfounded and calls for remedial measures, it is even then strongly urged that no change or alteration should be made, in view of the fact that such action would be regarded as weakness and that the prestige of the officials would receive a death blow. A strong effort is then made to adhere to the decision previously announced, the logical consequence of such a policy being that the decision once taken must be rigidly adhered to. May I enquire, under these circumstances, how should people act who desire reconsideration and amendment of the orders and decisions announced by the authorities.

Fortunately there are high officials here who do not follow this plea, but deal with difficult and delicate problems in a wise and statesmanlike manner and thus render most valuable service to both Great Britain and India. I am sure you will all agree with me in thinking that Lord Hardinge is the foremost amongst such officials at present in India, and his action far from being open to criticism is deserving of the highest commendation.

I wonder whether those critics who periodically trot out the bugbear of weakness realize what that means. To my mind it can mean only one thing, namely, that the position of the British Government in India is founded on such flimsy bases that an act of tardy justice done to the people of India by the higher authorities, as the result of strenuous representation against an executive order or decision, so seriously shakes the stability of the structure that a few such shocks would make the building totter and fall. Can the truth be further removed from this obvious inference? The foundation of British rule in India is laid on the bed-rock of strength and righteousness, on its inherent sense of justice, and on fair play. An act of justice, call it mercy if you like, under given circumstances, far from proving hurtful to the foundations of British rule in India, to my mind, has the effect of adding further buttresses to it, if that

were necessary, and draws from the depths of the peoples' hearts that feeling of gratitude and loyalty which is an asset of incalculable value to imperial England. Has not this view been proved beyond the shadow of a doubt? The resolutions passed by Muslim representative bodies and associations all over India on the Viceroy's announcement at Kanpur has clearly shown how far-reaching in its effects His Excellency's policy has actually proved. No one demands that Government should forthwith yield to every agitation. All that we ask for is that our representations should be examined in a judicial spirit, and that when there is a good case for the amendment, alteration or withdrawal of specific orders of the authorities, the necessary action should not be refused out of deference to that bugbear, loss of prestige. Can anyone venture to contend that our demand is in any way unreasonable?

I will not take up much of your time in dealing with the other bogey, namely, prestige. How much good feeling has been sacrificed in the past by acting upon the imaginary advantages of this word? Even Mr. Montague was obliged to deal with this bogey in the following pregnant words in the House of Commons: "Time was no doubt when it was a most important function of this House to see that the theory of government by prestige was not carried to excessive lengths in India. In the extreme of government by prestige, those who administer the country are, I take it, answerable only to their official superiors and no claim for redress by one of the ruled against one of the rulers can be admitted as a right. If for instance, a member of the ruling race inflicts an injury upon a member of the governed race, no question will arise of punishing the former to redress the wrong of the latter. The only consideration will be whether prestige will be impaired by punishing the offender, and so admit imperfection in the governing caste, or by not punishing him, and so condoning the failure of that protection of the governed which is essential to efficient government. This illustrates, as I understand the matter, the prestige theory pressed to its logical conclusion. I do not say that it was so pressed in India; it has always been tempered by British character, British opinion and the British Parliament. Whatever reliance there was in our Government of India is now giving place to reliance upon even-handed justice and strength, orderly and equitable

administration; but a great deal of nonsense is talked still, so it seems to me, about prestige. Call it if you will a useful asset in our relations between the British Government and the educated Indian public. Do not misunderstand me, and this I say especially to those who may do me the honour of criticizing outside these walls what I am now saying. I mean by prestige—the theory of government that I have just described—the theory that produces irresponsibility and arrogance. I do not of course mean that reputation for firm and dignified administration which no government can afford to disregard."

This speech was delivered in the House of Commons in 1911; while two years later, when H.E. the Viceroy has by an act of statesmanship calmed the lacerated feelings of the Muslim community in finding a reasonable solution of the Kanpur Mosque difficulty, he is seriously charged by some of his own countrymen with having given a serious blow to their blessed prestige. No further comment on such criticism of the Viceroy is called for beyond pointing out that this class of critics are so keenly solicitious of this blessed prestige that they feel it would be shaken by the public dancing of Miss Maud Allan in India!

Firing upon the People

Following the wise suggestion made by H.E. the Viceroy, when he visited Kanpur and brought about a settlement of the question, I do not wish to say anything more in regard to this matter. There is, however, one aspect of the question which calls for a few remarks. I would not have mentioned the subject if the incident had been confined to the Kanpur Mosque affair only, but as it has a grave bearing on the future, I cannot refrain from speaking about it. I wish to invite your attention to the fact that under the existing law, the power of firing upon the people under certain circumstances has been deliberately given to Government officials and there have been several instances during the past few years when this power has been exercised, resulting in serious loss of life. That the power of controlling an excited mob by firing upon them under given circumstances should remain with the officials in the interests of peace and order must be readily admitted. At the same time, adequate precautions are essentially necessary when the question is one

of taking life. No ordinary circumstances could possibly justify the use of firearms against the people. We have to remember that whatever the crowd in India, it is unarmed and its power of injuring the police and other people is very limited indeed. It will readily be conceded that this power should only be exercised on occasions when the position is so grave as to leave no other alternative for controlling and dispersing the crowd. There is bound to be considerable difference of opinion on this point, and I therefore think that it is necessary both in the interests of the official giving the order to fire and the general public that some provision should be made by which the exact facts of the case may be authoritatively investigated. I would therefore advocate that the Government of India should lay down as a standing order that an independent commission of enquiry, on which the Indian element shall be amply represented, shall be appointed to institute an inquiry within a reasonable time after firing has taken place. This commission should be authorized to take evidence and to report upon the circumstances under which the order to fire was given. The very fact that such a commission would be appointed on each and every occasion when firing has to be resorted to will have a wholesome restraining effect upon the official charged by law with the responsibility of taking life, and it will create a feeling of confidence among the general public that careful and independent enquiry will be made after the exercise of such power. It is therefore in the interests of both the officials and the general public that such a procedure should be laid down. Such an inquiry would save the official from serious adverse criticism to which in the nature of things he is open when life is actually taken. In Great Britain, in consequence of the greater development of democratic principles, firing is under serious control. During the recent Dublin riots, several members of the police were seriously injured—to the extent of being obliged to be taken to hospital. Be it remembered that the British people are not subject to the severe restrictions imposed under the Indian Arms Act, and many men amongst a British crowd may be actually armed, Even then firing is only restored to after all other alternatives have been absolutely exhausted.

The following extracts from Reuter's telegrams will clearly

show what happens in Great Britain under circumstances decidedly more grave:

London, August 31, 1913

"Two hundred civilians and thirty police were injured in last night's rioting. One has succumbed in hospital."

London, September 1, 1913.

"The riots continued in Dublin yesterday and two hundred cases are in hospital for injuries received. It is stated that during the police charge following upon the arrest of Larkin, a number of old men and women and children who were returning from church were struck with police batons. The Mayor announces his intention of moving that an inquiry be held into the conduct of the police."

London, September 22, 1913

"Serious rioting took place in Dublin last evening in connection with processions of strikers. The crowd attacked and wrecked tramcars and pitched battles with the police ensued in which batons, stones and bottles were freely used. A number of rioters were taken to hospital and several police were injured."

And still there was no firing upon the crowd. In India the circumstances are entirely different. An excited mob has no weapons of an offensive character beyond brick-bats and sticks. The people of India are as a rule highly amenable to the requirements of peace and order. In such a country, the taking of life by firing upon the crowd is a more serious matter than in England. It is, therefore, doubly necessary to provide for an independent inquiry in all cases which lead to the taking of life. I can appeal with confidence to the British people and the British Government to support and to give effect to the suggestion which I have made in the interests of everyone concerned, and I do so with confidence, especially because the whole trend of British policy is humanitarian. Government have never hesitated to take measures, even when they may be regarded as unpopular, if the object is to save life. The policy of Government in organizing large camps for the relief of famine-stricken

people during times of famine, and thereby saving thousands of lives which would otherwise be lost, is beyond all praise. The great impetus to sanitary measures throughout the length and breadth of this country, in spite of opposition in some quarters, has been studiously adopted with the object of preserving health and life. Nay, gentlemen, the fundamental principles on which British rule in India is based, namely, absolute non-interference with religious rites, privileges and liberties of the people of India has been deliberately departed from a view to saving life. I refer to the law which has been enacted prohibiting the immolation of widows on the funeral pyre of their husbands. Suttees, who under a high sense of religious sentiment voluntarily offer to sacrifice their lives by a hideous death, are prohibited by law from doing so. No amount of religious sanctity attaching to this practice has deterred the British Government from enforcing by legislation that lives should not be sacrificed in this way.

Is it too much to ask the same Government to provide adequate and suitable safeguards against the taking of the lives of people who may have congregated together under some exciting cause, however trivial, and who had disobeyed the command to disperse, in some cases because they could not do so, however willing they may have been to comply? Is it too much to ask that every official, however well placed he may be, and whatever his status in the service of Government, should always have before his eyes the knowledge that far from receiving the unqualified support of the higher authorities in such a matter, he will have to satisfy an independent tribunal of the circumstances which justified him in taking the lives of unarmed people? As I have already pointed out, it is necessary in the interest of the good name of the British Government, in the interest of officials upon whom the grave responsibility of giving the order to fire is imposed by law, and in the interests of the general public, that the safeguard I have indicated should be provided.

India's Civil Servants

The administrative standard which Lord Hardinge has held before us in dealing with the Kanpur question lends point to the innovation which Lord Crewe, the Secretary of State for India, recently introduced. I refer to the idea of inviting all the

young men who have chosen an Indian career to meet him at Whitehall and addressing them with weighty words of counsel and advice. I am inclined to think, however, that might well have improved the occasion by impressing upon them, on the eve of their entering into the Civil Service of India, the fundamental truth that they come out to this continent not to rule India but to serve India. The three letters of the alphabet I.C.S., which will remain attached to their names during the whole of their lives, and of which every civilian is justly proud, stand for India's civil servants and do not represent any form of rule. If the members of the civil service would but constantly bear in mind the incontrovertible fact that they are servants of India, and that they will, during the whole of the remainder of their lives, whether they are in active employ or in retirement, eat the salt of the people of India, and that, as Mr. Montague recently stated in Parliament, they must work in co-operation with the Indian people for the promotion of the best interests of this country, not merely on the lines which may appear best of them, but on the lines which may be regarded as best jointly by both, the work of administering the country will be greatly simplified. the progress of India will be both rapid and smooth, and the causes of estrangement and dissatisfaction will be uprooted.

During the many years which I have spent in the service of the public in the Bombay Presidency, I have come into close and intimate contact with a large number of Civilians (I.C.Ss.) and I have made many intimate friends amongst them. As a class, I have the highest admiration for their honesty of purpose, their stubborn integrity, their high ability and their sturdy devotion to duty. Would it be too much to ask them to cultivate a better regard for those Indian public men who devote a large portion of their time in the service of the country, who are actuated not by any sordid motives of personal gain, but by singleness of purpose in serving their countrymen; to abstain from attributing motives where none exist; to treat their opinions with respect and consideration, and to feel that perhaps there may be another aspect of questions under discussion which may require a different treatment?

I have said that the Civilians are servants of India, as their very designation indicates, just as much as we all are in the service of our motherland. The difference is that while the former

are paid for their services, the latter belong to the class not of the 'unemployed' but of the 'unpaid'. It has always been a wonder to me that men of high intellectual attainments and in active occupation in their own trades, industries, commerce and professions, men highly successful in their own private concerns, come forward in numbers to serve the country at great personal sacrifices and in the face of severe discouragement. Can better proof be required of the sturdy patriotism of such men, who readily make serious sacrifices of valuable time and money in an endeavour to render all the help that lies in their power to ensure good Government in India? This class of men are in my opinion the most valuable imperial asset in India and deserve all the encouragement possible in their self-imposed task. Any feeling of suspicion and distrust towards them must result in enhancing the difficulties of the situation.

Balkan War

It must be with a feeling of relief that you will have seen the end of the Balkan War. Turkey has not been turned out bag and baggage from Europe. Though its European dominions have been curtailed, it still has a strong footing on the Continent of Europe. Adrianople, round which a strong Muslim sentiment has concentrated, again flies the Turkish flag. Turkish reverses have this redeeming feature, that they brought to the surface the fact that however much Musalmans may be divided amongst themselves, the religious sentiment of Muslim brotherhood is a living force throughout the entire Muslim world. Musalmans in different parts of the world have all proved their readiness to come forward in a spirit of self-sacrifice and devotion to stand by their co-religionists in their hour of trial and trouble. It is the living miracle of Islam that the sentiments of Islamic brotherhood are seated deep down in the hearts of the followers of our revered Prophet, and that the lapse of centuries has in no way blunted the effects of his noble mission.

Foreign Policy of Great Britain and Indian Musalmans

During the time of stress and strain, charges were made against the Musalmans of India that they wanted to dictate the

foreign policy of Great Britain, that they desired that England should go to war to protect the Muslim States in Europe and Asia. Can anything be further removed from the truth? The Indian Musalmans fully recognize the danger to England, with all its interests spread over the face of the whole world, to hint that she should thoughtlessly involve herself in a bloody war. It is doing the Muslims of India a grave injustice to suggest that they had the remotest notion of dictating what foreign policy England should pursue. And as a matter of fact they have never dreamt of doing so. All that they have urged—and I think they had ample justification in doing so—was that England, as the sovereign power of millions of Musalman subjects, should, out of regard for their sentiments, endeavour to see that Turkey obtained fair and just treatment in the councils of Europe. I do not think anyone could venture to assert that the request, nay even the demand, that England should do its best in the councils of Europe to ensure fair, just and equitable treatment to Turkey can possibly be regarded as being in any way unreasonable. It is because the utterances of responsible British Ministers appeared to them to indicate that England's sympathies were against the Turks that Indian Muslim feelings were naturally hurt and that they felt aggrieved. Can any fault be found with them under the circumstances?

At the time of the declaration of war between Turkey and the Balkan Allies. Sir Edward Grev said in the House of Commons that "the great powers are taking what steps they can to prevent a breach of the peace; definite proposals were made yesterday for collective steps to be taken by or on behalf of the Great Powers to overcome these difficulties by representations to the Balkan States and at Constantinople afid we agreed to them." The steps indicated by Sir Edward Grey were the declaration that "if nevertheless war breaks out between the Balkan States and the Ottoman Empire they will not admit as the result of the conflict any modifications of the territorial status quo in European Turkey." This was at the time of the commencement of the war. We may reasonably draw the inference from this declaration that if Turkey had been victorious it would not have been allowed to retain any portion of the conquered territory. At the time war was declared, it was generally felt in the Chancelleries of Europe that the Turkish soldiers would sweep over the

surrounding territory belonging to the Allies; and if these expectations had been realized, the might of Europe, including the power of England, would have been asserted to deprive Turkey of any territorial expansion as the result of its victories. But the tide of victory went the other way, and the Balkan Allies proved victorious immediately after the conflict had begun in earnest. This completely upset the preconceptions of the Chancelleries of Europe; and they felt that the declaration of the maintenance of the status quo in European Turkey would be prejudicial to the Balkan Allies. Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, took an early opportunity of then declaring that whatever may be the result of the war, the Concert of Europe could not possibly deprive the victorious party from securing the fruits of their victories. Are the Musalmans of India to be blamed if they feel that England was associated with the other European Powers in laying down and enforcing a policy that if the Turks had proved victorious in the combat, they would not have been allowed to obtain any territory belonging to any of the Balkan Allies, but that if the Balkan Allies proved victorious, they would be permitted to annex important portions of the European dominions of Turkey? It is unreasonable that the Musalmans of India should feel that fair and equitable treatment was not being meted out to their co-religionists beyond the seas, and that England was taking a prominent part in such treatment?

Mr. Asquith and the Peace of London

Well, as you are aware, after the Peace of London was signed and the Balkan Allies fell out amongst themselves, resulting in a redistribution of the conquered territory, Turkey, availing itself of the opportunity which became so providentially available, recaptured the town of Adrianople and the surrounding country, with which a strong Muslim sentiment was associated. Was it wise, was it statesmanlike for Mr. Asquith to declare that so far as Turkey was concerned, it would be required to lie within the boundary line settled at the Peace of London? In the face of such and similar declarations from the highest ministers of the British Crown, no fault could be found with the Musalmans of India if they concluded that England, far from

trying to be just and fair towards Turkey, far from endeavouring to secure fair play to the Muslim Khilafat, was siding against it, and was co-operating with other European Powers who are the declared enemies of the Turkish Empire. Under all this provocation, have the Musalmans done anything which would attach any blame to them? Have they swerved in the slighest degree in their feeling of sincere loyalty towards the British Crown? However painful the episode has been to them, they have exercised full self-control and restraint, and their conduct far from being blameworthy deserves the highest commendation.

The South African Question

I am appealing to you to exercise patience and restraint in criticism. In doing so I have not failed to realize how extremely difficult it is at times to exercise these virtues. The feeling of indignation and horror which has spread throughout this country in regard to the treatment meted out to our fellow-countrymen and women in South Africa has led to the use of language which under the circumstances could hardly be controlled. But in the face of the grave provocation to Indian sentiments, I cannot help expressing my sense of deep gratification at the masterly pronouncement which H.E. the Viceroy made in Madras. I know that the expression of his sincere feeling of sympathy with the people of this country has laid him open to severe criticism in some quarters. It is a curious anomaly that these very critics, who never forget to preach to us Indians the doctrine of submitting to the views of the man on the spot, who never fail to resent interpellations and criticism in the House of Commons on the plea that men on the spot must be considered to understand the position best, that strictures levelled in England against Indian Officials should be treated with contempt as unknowing and ignorant, are the very persons who have come forward to condemn the views and the suggestions of the man on the spot occupying the highest executive position in this continent. How far-reaching is the effect for good which Lord Hardinge's speech at Madras has been instrumental in bringing about, can only be known to the people in India. Lord Mardinge, whose great merit is to keep himself in close touch with the

people of this land, who manages to secure first-hand information of the extent of the feeling of indignation and horror that had permeated this country, has done by this pronouncement the greatest service to the Crown of England. Well, gentlemen, in spite of this criticism, the Boer Government has been obliged to announce the appointment of a commission of enquiry. You all know the constitution of this commission and the South African Indian opinion of the men chosen to sit upon it. Our demand was that the commission should be so constituted as to ensure not only that the men chosen in South Africa should be such as would command the confidence of the people, but also that the representatives of this country should find seats upon it. This has not been complied with, and although the suggestion for such representation has been supported both by the official and non-official opinion in India, it has been ignored. Is it any wonder that, under the circumstances, the Indians feel that the enquiry will prove a white-washing one, and the sore will remain unhealed?

Indians in the British Empire

But the question that is facing us to-day is not merely the treatment that our fellow-countrymen are receiving at the hands of the South African Government. It cannot be narrowed down to the present residents in the South African Union. That question is undoubtedly emergent and requires to be dealt with forthwith; but the wider question that can no longer be postponed and now be faced, that question is: "What is the position of the people of India in the British Empire?" Australia is practically barred against us. Canada is contemplating legislation to prohibit Asiatic immigration. The attitude of South Africa is patent to you. The time is therefore ripe to ask whether we are common subjects of His Imperial Majesty the King, occupying identically the same position as the other subjects of His Majesty, or are we so in theory only? Under the gracious proclamation of Queen Victoria, confirmed by the Royal pronouncements of Queen Victoria's two successors, pledges have been given to us in an unequivocable manner that we are citizens of the Empire. In pactice, however, we find that in South Africa. in Canada and in Australia we are regarded in a manner which it is difficult to express in moderate terms. We have therefore every right to ask the British Cabinet, through the Secretary of State, for a declaration of whether they will manage to secure to us the rights and privileges of British citizenship.

If the answer to the question is in the affirmative, England has got to exercise the powers which legally vest in her to ensure to us such rights and such privileges. If we are not, in spite of Royal pronouncements and Royal pledges, to receive the rights of British citizenship, if we are prohibited from settling in the British Colonies on equal terms with the white races, we are entitled to a clear and definite declaration on the point. It is necessary that we should clearly understand what our position actually is in the British Empire. If we are not entitled, in spite of the pledges already referred to, to equal rights of British citizenship, if that right on the declared authority of the British Cabinet is to be denied to us, then we shall be free to organize means and measures to protect ourselves against this indignity.

Retaliation is a bad word, but it has been freely used in this connection; and I do not think any one would venture to assert that the use of the word is uncalled for. Our esteemed citizen the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, who has made the cause of the Indians in South Africa his own, considers that retaliation should be applied in the direction of a prohibition to all South Africans from any employment under the Government of India, and of a restriction against the purchase of South Africa coal by the railways in India. I am afraid that retaliatory measures confined to these two things would hardly be successful in attaining the object we have at heart in enforcing recognition of our rights of British citizenship by the Colonies of Britain. We will have to consider and devise means which, while being perfectly constitutional, may prove really effective. The intellectual capacity of the Indians is not so meagre as to despair of finding such an effective remedy, but the time for such measures has yet to come. We have thankfully to remember that the Indian Officials are supporting our cause, and that many Englishmen in South Africa appear to be in our favour. A majority of the powerful English press is sufficiently outspoken. We have therefore to wait for the final result of the present contretemps before concerting and pressing effective measures in this behalf. There is no Indian who does not regret the necessity of being

obliged to start a war of retaliation against a component part of the mighty British Empire, but the fault lies entirely with the British Cabinet. If the British Cabinet is absolutely powerless to secure the rights of British citizenship to the Indian subjects of the Crown, the whole responsibility of the consequences which such a policy will lead to, will be on their heads. I need hardly tell them that the result of such a course, from the Imperial standpoint, will be deplorable.

Who Won the Boer War?

This leads me to ask a question which under existing conditions is of paramount importance. I should like to know who were the victors in the Boer War? Whether England came out victorious and succeeded in conquering the Boer Republics or whether it was the Boers who successfully defeated Great Britain. If Great Britain was in reality the victorious party, it should not be powerless to enforce its wishes upon the Boers. But from recent pronouncements it seems obvious that the British Cabinet is in reality absolutely helpless in the matter. The plea put forward is that in Self-governing Colonies, the British Government can merely use suasion and nothing else. If this argument is carried to its logical conclusion, it means that any legislation affecting the people in South Africa by the Union Parliament shall be accepted, irrespective of how it affects the different sections of the population. Well, the Union Parliament, as it is constituted at present, contains a large Boer majority. It therefore follows that any Legislation which the Boer majority in the Union Parliament may pass imposing unbearable disabilities upon English residents themselves must receive the assent of His Majesty. England would be obliged, under such circumstances, also to declare that it is powerless to interfere with the domestic legislation of a Self-governing Colony. As a result of such legislation, the English people in Natal may be hounded out of that Colony, and still the British Cabinet, I suppose, would sit with folded arms and declare to the world its utter helplessness to secure justice to their own people. If this is a fact, then it clearly follows that, though nominally Britain won the Boer War, it was the Boers who were really victorious, and as a result of such victory, annexed the British Colony of Natal to the Republics of the Transvaal and Orange Free State. Can

anything be more absurd? Would Great Britain remain so indifferent if the Boer majority took it into their heads to act in the manner indicated? Gentlemen, it does not require any prescience to know that the whole of Great Britain would be excited from one end to the other, and the might of Great Britain would come down on the recalcitrant Boers, and the might of England would prevail. It is only when the persons affected are the people of India that this helplessness is manifesting itself.

A curious sidelight is thrown on the issue I have raised by the public pronouncement of General Botha, the South African Premier. In the speech which he delivered on November 24, he is reported to have said that their country was part of the British Empire, yet they were as free as if they were an independent State on a footing of equality with the sister States, and they were a sister State of England: "Our first duty in the interest of the Union itself is, in my opinion, to stand on a friendly footing with the British Empire, without in any way departing from the least of our principles." I should like to know what the British ministers have to say in regard to this claim. If they admit it, could they still claim that they won the Boer War?

We are told that it is an economic question which is at the root of the trouble. The Indians are thrifty, they can live more cheaply than the white settlers, and they can successfully compete with them in trade and commerce. The doctrine of the survival of the fittest does not presumably apply to South Africa. When the Indians demand legislative and executive measures for the protection of India's economic and industrial interests, the same school which is preaching economic considerations in British Colonies trot out the principle of the 'Survival of the fittest'. They want to have it both ways. May I tell them such a policy can lead to no good?

Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions

The question of the separation of the judicial and executive functions has been so well thrashed out throughout the country that I would not have referred to it here, but for the fact of the recent discussion on the subject in the Imperial Legislative Council. I do not wish to enter into the history of the question,

as it is well-known to you. There is, however, one aspect of the discussion in the Imperial Council which requires to be brought out prominently. When the resolution on the subject was put to the vote, it was found that every Indian member, whether elected or nominated, voted in favour of it. It is a memorable incident in the political progress of India that all the different elements constituting Indian representation unanimously demanded that a beginning should forthwith be made in the direction of separating the judicial and executive functions. The resolution was, of course, negatived by the official majority. Whatever the technical fate of this resolution, it raises constitutional questions of far-reaching importance.

Chosen Representatives of the People

His Majesty the King Emperor, in reply to the loyal address presented at Delhi by the Imperial Legislative Council, called the members of that body 'the chosen representatives of the people of India.' It is an undisputed fact that all the elected members are chosen by such electorates as have been laid down by the Government themselves. Many of them represent all the different provinces of India on a territorial basis. Some of them represent the landowners, and some the important Muslim community on a communal basis. Others have been nominated by His Excellency the Viceroy himself. All Indian 'chosen representatives of the people of India' have unanimously asked that a beginning should forthwith be made with this reform. Though the resolution was lost by the vote of the official majority, we are entitled to ask whether that will be the last word on the subject.

I cannot conceive that such will be the actual result. If the united voice of India expressed through their chosen representatives is powerless to secure a reform which has, as in this instance, received the support of many high officials, the recent Council reforms can hardly be regarded as an appreciable advance on previous conditions. We have secured more seats on the Legislative Councils, we have obtained the very valuable privilege of moving resolutions and dividing the house on them, but our function still remains that of a consultative body, who are free to express their views and sentiments, but whose united

voice remains inoperative. Gentlemen, I am ready to recognize that under present conditions of the administration of the country, it is necessary that there should be an official majority. I do so because the legislative functions vesting in these bodies are of a far-reaching character. A Legislative Council can not only pass or reject fresh legislation, but can repeal and amend existing laws. It is, therefore, right that the power of the majority should remain in the hands of Government. But it is absolutely necessary that adequate safeguards should be provided against the arbitrary exercise of such power.

It is not sufficiently recognized that the non-official members of the Legislative Councils in India occupy the position of what we understand as the 'Opposition' in Parliament. I do not mean that they always oppose Government or that they work in a party spirit. The career of the Indian members of the Legislative Councils indisputably proves that they have been actuated by a high sense of duty and patriotism and have proved most useful to Government in their legislative and other work. What I do mean is that it is their function to represent the public view and offer suggestions and criticism in regard to measures introduced by Government. They work practically on some basis akin to an 'Opposition'. It is now recognized as an axiomatic truth that the efficiency of Government largely depends upon a strong Opposition. Any measures that would impair the efficiency of the Opposition would unquestionably react on the efficiency of the administration. Such an Opposition is represented by the non-official members in the Legislative Councils. There is, however, a fundamental difference between the 'Opposition' in Parliament and the Opposition in India, and I am sorry to find that this is not adequately realized by Government officials. In England the party in the 'Opposition' to-day may well hope to sit on Government benches tomorrow. The whole attention of the party and its press is directed towards winning the suffrages of the people of Great Britain, so that they may succeed in securing a majority at the next general elections and occupy the Government benches. As I have already said, the party in the 'Opposition' to-day may be the party in power to-morsow. All the power and patronage—and the extent of this is colossal in England—which may vest in the party in power to-day is enjoyed by the 'Opposition' to-morrow. The

position of the Opposition in India is quite different. The power and patronage—and it is most extensive even in India—which must necessarily attach to the Government in office remains always in the hands of the officials. The Government benches must always remain in their occupation. The Opposition must always occupy the same seats. They can never hope to exercise, under present conditions, the power and the patronage vesting in Government and the telling influence which directly results therefrom.

In spite of this serious disability, men are found ready and willing to accept serious sacrifices in the public cause. They are ready to accept Government displeasure in the honest and conscientious discharge of their duties. Scrutinize the class of men who occupy seats on the Legislative Councils in India, and you will observe what classes they are drawn from. You will find amongst them men engaged in important trades and industries, in agriculture on an extensive scale, in professions in which they coin money. These men whose time is of the utmost value readily come forward at the call of duty to serve their country, without any hope of winning a position which will secure them the power and the patronage inseparable from the Government office. Nay, they have frequently to face official displeasure. I feel strongly that it is necessary in the interests of good government that the authorities should make every endeavour to rally this class to themselves. Far from regarding them as critics and agitators, it is best to hold them in esteem as men who are materially contributing towards the better administration of the country and who deserve all encouragement possible in their self-imposed task.

The Press Act

The remarks I have made on the question of the general position of the non-official members apply equally well to the liberty of the press. It is through non-official members of the Legislative Councils and through the responsible Indian press that Government stand to obtain direct information as regards the feelings and sentiments of the people. Just as full encouragement is needed to secure the best men to serve on the Legislative Councils, adequate liberty of expression is necessary for

the Indian press. I have no sympathy with those newspapers which regard license as liberty, and are habitually transgressing the bounds of liberal journalism. At the same time, it is necessary that no undue restrictions should either be imposed or, by any action of Government officials, be felt to stand in the way of full and free discussion of public matters. The only independent source through which Government can keep itself in daily touch with the feelings and sentiments prevailing in the different parts of India is the Indian press. If the actual effect of any measure of Government leads to a condition under which Governments are themselves deprived of this direct knowledge, it is harmful and mischievous in its results. I have been constrained to make these remarks because I am personally aware of the fact that the Press Act, with the wide powers it confers, is operating directly towards discouraging even well-established and long-standing Indian newspapers from freely expressing their views. I think that the time has come when the question regarding the operation of the Press Act should be carefully and judicially examined and the necessary measures applied in order to remove the disabilities now existing.

Muslim Ideals and Policy

Having touched thus briefly on current events, I should like to say a few words in regard to the question of our policy and our ideals. I do so with considerable hesitation; but I am obliged to deal with it in view of the fact that during recent times much difference of opinion has manifested itself among the Mohammedans of India, and statements have appeared in the press to the effect that the League has been captured by the young hot-heads of the community, that it is tottering and is on the verge of collapse, that leading men amongst us are abandoning the League either openly or quietly. It will strike any one that there must be something radically wrong with the machinery by which the Musalmans have organized themselves to promote their communal interests, if these statements are true.

Before I deal with this question, I should like to place before you my own faith and belief in regard to the political future of India. I do so with a view to removing the slightest chance of my attitude being misunderstood or misconstrued. Looking to the growth of political life in India during so short a period in the life of a nation as the last 50 years, it must strike even a casual observer that the progress made by the country is phenomenal. With the liberal educational policy adopted by the British Government, we have been enabled to come in close contact with Western thought and culture, and with the history of the rise and progress of democratic institutions in the West and their present ascendency. It is but natural that our horizon should be widened and that we should become keenly anxious to move steadily forward on similar lines. I think we would not be true to our motherland if we did not strive to attain a high standard of progress on democratic lines. I am one of those dreamers who firmly believe that given a sufficiently long spell of British rule in India, we are bound to become united as a nation in the real sense of the term. When that time arrives (as it is sure to do), we shall have qualified to rule the country ourselves; and self-government will be absolutely assured to us. It will be the proudest day in the history of England when, having accepted the guardianship of a people over 300 millions in number, belonging to an alien race, divided into innumerable sects and creeds, it has guided their evolution and has successfully carried out a far-sighted policy enabling them to reach a pitch of consolidation and solidarity making them perfectly qualified to govern themselves. The debt of gratitude India owes to the Crown of England for the peace and order prevailing throughout the length and breadth of this vast continent, the safety of life and property, the earnest and humanitarian policy for our welfare and advancement, the studious efforts to train and educate us to the highest standard possible, is nothing to what India will owe when the work for this country is completed and the heritage is handed over to the children of the soil. I have called myself a dreamer, and you are welcome to regard me as such if you like; but this I will tell you that I have profound faith in the realization of my dream, and it depends upon you to exert yourself to fulfil the destiny which is inevitably yours. No country such as India is can remain for ever under foreign rule, however beneficient that rule may be; and though British rule is undoubtedly based on beneficience and righteousness, it cannot last for ever.

India is our motherland, our proud heritage, and must in

the end be handed over to us by our guardians. I regard the connection of England with India in the nature of guardianship over minor children. If I may apply the analogy, I would say that the Hindu and the Muslim are two brothers, sons of 'Mother Hind', and in a state of minority, and that Providence has chosen the British to be the guardians of the minors. I need not remind you that in the hour to our need, two European nations, namely, France and England, applied for this guardianship, and it was granted to England. How well, how nobly, the obligations so imposed have been discharged by England is evidenced in every direction to-day. The minors are gradually and steadily growing up in health and strength under the fostering care of a people who were the first to fight for democracy, and who have after centuries of travail and application raised it as a system to the present standard of efficiency. India is loyal to the backbone to England, not only for all that it has done for India, but for all which India may well hope to obtain in the future. Loyalty of an alien people, based as it is in India on a firm conviction of self-interest, is bound to be deep-routed and genuine. Any suspicion of the deep-routed loyalty of India is unjust and groundless. Constitutional agitation against Government measures there will be and there must be. We cannot convince our guardians without constitutional agitation; and it is the common failing of all guardians all the world over that it is difficult to convince them of the steady growth of their wards. Such growth is largely imperceptible to them, taking place as it does under their very eyes. As I have said, the minors are in reality steadily growing up and their needs and requirements are multiplying. The wards would be false to the training which the guardian, in the noble discharge of his duties, has himself given, if they did not respectfully ask, nay clamour, for larger allowances suitable to the respective ages to which they may have reached; and the best policy to be adopted towards them is to recognize the fact from time to time and make further grants in a generous spirit.

It will be obvious to you that it depends entirely upon yourselves how early you will realize your proud destiny. It will call for the best in your nature; you will have to be patient and persevering; you will have to be prepared for all calls of self-sacrifice and devotion to your motherland. You will have to rise above petty jealousies and personal considerations; you will have to unite in a bond of Indian brotherhood to make your path easy in the stubborn task that lies before you. You will always have to bear prominently in mind that an early realization of your ultimate hopes and aspirations depends wholly upon retaining in the land the beneficient rule of the Crown of England. During the transition period, the presence of the British in India is absolutely indispensible. You are bound to grow to adult manhood in time and come into your inheritance, but you must in no way be impatient of your guardian. In trying to accelerate the pace, do not retard your progress. We have to remember also that we shall not reach the goal by the use of physical force. Anarchism and bombs never have in the history of any nation ensured progress or helped in attaining their end. Believe me, gentlemen, that when the time arrives, the force of moral pressure will be irresistable and it will absolutely ensure the realization of our proud destiny.

This is fully borne out by the noble message which His Imperial Majesty delivered to you during his recent visit to India. As you are aware, it consists of three words 'Educate, Unite and Hope'. Can any message be more pregnant with far-reaching significance? Can better words be found in the English language to indicate to you in what direction your future lies? By the word 'Educate' is meant not merely the passing of examinations. It is used in a broader sense, and calls upon you to qualify yourselves for the noble destiny that awaits you. Your leaders during the past generation fully realized the significance of this word, and they advised you to concentrate your attention on educating yourselves before anything else. Their advice to eschew politics at that stage was, as you will now recognize, highly wise. But for that concentration, the Musalman community would not have made that progress in education which we see all around us to-day. Involving the Musalmans community in political strife at that stage would not have been to their interest. They had lagged far behind in the race of education. Concentration on education was essentially necessary. If the Muslim mind had been diverted into different channels, it would have proved highly detrimental to our cause. The community as a whole, following the wise guidance of their elders, devoted all their energies to educating themselves. The fruits which have

resulted could not have been attained in any other way. I cannot conceive that the policy of abstaining from political life was meant to be permanent. It was clearly realized that when, as the result of concentrating attention on educational progress. the community had been raised to a sufficiently high standard, politics would come as a matter of course. How well that policy has succeeded, I need not tell such a representative gathering as I find assembled here to-day. Within the short period of six years since the date on which the Musalman community organized themselves for political work, the progress made will be admitted on all hands to be highly gratifying. This is the result of concentration on education, which as you will observe is the first word of the gracious message of His Imperial Majesty. May I ask you whether this experience does not teach us that it is best to concentrate our attention and our energies upon the next word of the Royal message, namely 'Unite'? You are aware that however much you may qualify yourselves by education and other means, you will have to unite yourselves in a common bond of Indian brotherhood before you can hope to reach any form of self-government. Having reached the necessary stage of union, there is nothing you cannot hope to obtain. There is nothing which will keep you out of your heritage. Let every Indian take to heart the gracious message of our King, in his own person and family, and try to live up to it. Every true son of India owes this debt to his country, to act on the principles enunciated; and the future, though far distant, may well be regarded as absolutely assured to you. Well, let me appeal to you and through you to all the people of India to work for your motherland on the lines indicated, and thus contribute to the ultimate fulfilment of the proud destiny which inevitably awaits you.

As I have explained, at considerable length, my political faith for the future of India, you will easily understand that I cannot object to the ideals which have been adopted by the two leading political organizations of this country. The Congress ideal of self-government on Colonial lines has the advantage of being clear and definite. The League ideal of self-government suitable to India appears to me vague and indefinite. You must have had good reasons for adopting it, but I cannot help remarking that I personally would have preferred something which

was more definite and distinct. Whatever the ideal, I should like to appeal to you to bear constantly in mind that nothing should be allowed to create a feeling of impatience, a desire to reach it by short cuts, or a tendency to excite the passions of the people. Nothing is more detrimental to advancing the cause of India than impatience and disaffection. Far from accelerating the pace towards the ultimate attainment of the goal, it will undoubtedly have the effect of setting the clock back.

We have recently heard a great deal about a divided feeling amongst the members of our community. It appears to me wholly unwise to fall out and be divided on a point which, even in the opinion of the most enthusiastic amongst us, will not be reached till after several decades of strenuous and united efforts. Whether the final consummation of our highest aspirations takes several decades or several scores of years or some centuries is in the womb of time. It largely depends, as I have already pointed out, upon ourselves. Why then waste our energies in fruitless discussions and dissensions upon the form of government which we should strive to attain at the end of that indefinite period? When a sturdy union amongst all the conflicting elements prevailing in India to-day is a condition precedent to any sound and steady progress, would it not be wise to devise means by which we may be able to concentrate our undivided attention on the problems of the day, and by united exertions ensure steady and solid progress?

Everyone must recognize that no form of self-government is possible in India unless the two principal communities, the Hindu and the Muslim, are closely and conscientiously united. What can be a nobler aim, a loftier goal than to endeavour to secure India united! Once we become sincerely and genuinely united, there is no force in the world which can keep us from our heritage; without such union, the Indians will have to wait indefinitely for the realization of their fondest hopes. Instead of having differences and dissensions amongst ourselves at the present time on matters of remote realization, I would earnestly appeal to all true sons of India to concentrate all their energies, all their talents on the consummation of ensuring a united India. Then we might well leave the future to take care of itself, full of hope, and full of confidence. If the two sister communities devote their energies and concentrate their efforts on

the realization of such an ideal, in a spirit of reasoned compromise, all our difficulties will crumble away, and India will rise phoenix-like from the ashes of discord and struggle to a fresh and robust life, full of promise and full of hope.

Muslim Policy

The next question which I must deal with now is what should be the policy of the League as representing the Musalmans of India. The answer which I would give to the question is briefly this. Our policy towards the British Government should be one of unswerving loyalty, and towards the Hindus one of brotherly love and regard. I hold that the policy which should guide us should be that of the younger brother in a family towards his guardian and towards his elder brother. While fully maintaining his individuality and remaining keenly alive to his own needs and requirements, he should extend to his guardian his respectful homage and to his elder brother his brotherly affection and sincere regard. My advice to you to offer unswerving loyalty and respectful homage to your guardian does not mean blind or servile submission to all his mandates. Loyalty and homage are in no way inconsistent with representation and agitation. All the constitutional means which are open and available to you should be made use of, both freely and fully, to advance India in every direction, to promote the best interests of our community, and to secure better administration by moderate and sober criticism of Government measures. It is unnecessary for me further to dilate upon this aspect of the question, as I am sure you clearly realize what your constitutional rights and privileges are. Make the best use of these, and notwithstanding all the discouragement, you may meet with, persevere in your efforts and thereby make your full contribution towards the better administration of this country.

When I am advising you to extend brotherly affection and sincere regard towards the elder brother, I am not forgetting that you are entitled to reciprocity at his hands. The union of the two brothers cannot stand on a one-sided arrangement. I call the Hindu the elder brother, and I am sure you will agree with me in the view that he occcupies that position in the Indian family. He is senior in numbers, in education, in wealth,

and in many other ways. His obligations, therefore, under the Indian system of family life, are necessarily greater. In order that there should be a sincere and genuine entente, each brother must be prepared to discharge his relative duties towards the other in the right spirit. Let us first examine whether the Musalmans have in the past endeavoured to discharge their obligation towards the Hindus. If we have not done so, we ought to be prepared to make amends and rectify our conduct. You are all aware that the birth of organized Muslim political life dates from the day on which a representative deputation from all the parts of India, headed by our acknowledged leader, His Highness the Aga Khan, waited upon Lord Minto, pressing on the attention of what I will continue to call the guardian, the claims of the younger brother to share directly by election in the representative institutions in the country. This was the first sign that the growth of the younger brother had reached a stage when his needs and requirements were keenly felt, that the training which the guardian had provided for the children was having the same effect upon the younger child as it had had upon the elder one, that the flame of patriotism had been kindled in him also (I trust never to be extinguished thereafter); and therefore he solicited those opportunities for the service of the public which had been given earlier for the benefit of the family. It appears that our steady growth was as imperceptible to the guardian as it was to the elder brother. But we could no longer remain passive spectators of the progress taking place all around us; and we desired to share the burden and the responsibility of service to our country. We craved for a part of those opportunities which had been made available to the people of India. and which had been enjoyed by elder brother during the period of our infancy. The guardian recognized the force of our just demands, and signified his willingness to provide those opportunities which were our legitimate due. How stubbornly the elder brother resisted this recognition of our just rights is now a matter of history.

In view of the cordial relations now subsisting between the two sister communities, I do not wish to dilate upon this point; but I cannot help remarking that the elder brother lost a splendid opportunity of winning the younger one, at an impressionable age, wholly towards himself, by failing to realize the

far-reaching consequences of wise states manship at that psychological moment. There appears to me nothing wrong or unreasonable in the demand of the Muslim community for those opportunities of serving the public directly by election which have been conceded to the people of this country. The Indian National Congress, which stands for the highest national sentiment in the country, has had to recognize the special representation of the Muslims on the All India Congress Committee. It has also laid down as a part of its creed that, "in any representations which the Congress may make or in any demands which it may put forward for the larger association of the people of India with the administration of the country, the interests of minorities shall be duly safeguarded." May I enquire what difference there is in principle between duly safeguarding the interests of the minorities (and the Musalmans form the most important of such minorities) in the political rights and privileges which should be demanded in the future and those which have already been obtained? I cannot conceive that the demand of the Musalmans for adequate opportunities for representation on the public bodies in the country was in any way unreasonable or unjust, or in any way militated against the ultimate realization of the brilliant destiny which awaits the people of this land. Wise statesmanship and sympathetic consideration of each other's needs and requirements are essentially necessary during the period of transition through which every country must pass before reaching its highest destiny. May I enquire whether the Muslim representatives on the Legislative Council have been in any way wanting in public spirit or independence, and whether they have not sincerely co-operated with the representatives of the other communities in promoting the best interests of the country? May I request our friends to consider what a tower of strength the association of Muslim representatives with the representatives of other communities furnishes in promoting the political cause of India? When both the representatives elected by the Hindu majority and by the Musalmans on the communal basis jointly demand the political and economic progress of the country, do they realize how difficult it would be for the guardian to resist such a united demand?

I should like to call your attention in this connection to an extract from the able speech which Mr. Badruddin Tyabji—

who afterwards became the Honourable Mr. Justice Tyabji—delivered in Madras as the first Mohammedan President of the Indian National Congress. He said: "Gentlemen, it is undoubtedly true that each one of our great Indian communities has its own peculiar, social, moral, educational and even political difficulties to surmount; but so far as general political questions affecting the whole of India are concerned, I for one am utterly at a loss to understand why Musalmans should not work shoulder to shoulder with their fellow-countrymen of other races and creeds for the common benefit of all."

May I enquire whether we have not worked in the League on the broad principles laid down by a distinguished co-religionist of ours from the presidential chair of the National Congress? Examine the resolutions which the League has passed from year to year, and compare them with those passed by the Congress: you will clearly observe that on all questions affecting the common interests of the people of India we have readily and sincerely co-operated. Idealists have, however, to remember that the Musalmans of India have their own "peculiar, social, moral, educational and political difficulties to surmount", and that they have therefore to maintain their organized associations and institutions. Remaining keenly alive to our own needs and requirements, we have throughout the existence of the League extended a cordial hand of fellowship and co-operation to the sister communities, and I cannot give better advice than to ask you to continue this line of policy as the most foresighted and wise.

Two years ago, finding that Hindu and Muslim sentiment was becoming estranged and feeling that such a condition was detrimental to the well-being of the country, it was the Muslim community which took the initiative, and under the guidance of their recognized leader, H.H. the Aga Khan, went in the form of a special deputation from Nagpur, the seat of the annual session of the Muslim League, to Allahabad, the seat of the annual meeting of the Indian National Congress, to meet representative Hindus and to discuss means by which more cordial relations might be ensured. It was again the act of the younger brother, making a peace-offering to the elder, declaring in an unequivocal manner how keen and how anxious he was to reach a better understanding between the two. You are all aware that after an important discussion, a representative

committee consisting of the leaders of both the communities was appointed for the purpose of discussing the points of disagreement and suggesting means and measures by which, in a spirit of reasoned compromise, more cordial relations might be brought about. Two years have passed since the date this committee was appointed, and it is to be regretted that not a single meeting has yet been held. Whatever may be the cause for this long delay in meeting for such a laudable object, it cannot be gainsaid that we have always been anxious to discharge our obligation towards the elder brother in the right spirit. It is a matter of regret that such a splendid opportunity has not been utilized. If there are any reasons which make it difficult to get this Committee together, I would ask you to appoint another committee for this purpose. I make this suggestion because I feel strongly that in the interests of India as a whole and those of each of the sister communities, it is pre-eminently desirable that representative men chosen by each should meet from time to time, and discuss points about which any disagreement or feeling may exist. Believe me, gentlemen, if a friendly discussion between the recognized leaders of both the communities takes place periodically, it will clear the atmosphere and bring them both much nearer together.

I have briefly indicated how anxious we have been to discharge our obligations towards the elder brother, and we shall always be ready to consider carefully any points on which he may feel that we have failed to do so. If there are any such points, I trust they will be authoritatively communicated to us, and I need hardly say that they will receive our anxious attention. I have already said that the brotherly relations between the two cannot stand on a one-sided arrangement. We are therefore entitled to ask that the elder brother should indulge in a little introspection and examine, for his own guidance, whether he has discharged his obviously greater duties towards Muslims. I am sure we shall all be very interested to learn the directions in which this has been done. For a thorough understanding between the two. I think it is necessary that the suggestion which I have already made—viz., to appoint a representative committee—should be acted upon, and that it should meet periodically and discuss all points affecting the interests and relations of each with the other. It is because I feel that far-reaching results for good will accrue from such a course that I have referred to the matter once again.

The London Branch of the Muslim League

I am sure you will all appreciate the reasons which have induced me to keep any reference to the recent happenings in London to the concluding part of my address. You will recognize how delicate the matter is. The Musalmans of India have a high regard for Syed Ameer Ali, who has during the period of nearly half a century rendered yeoman service to the cause of Islam. His great achievements in the field of literature, his masterly exposition of the faith of Islam, his active co-operation with our distinguished leader, H.H. Sir Aga Khan, in promoting our political advancement are a few of the directions in which he has conferred lasting obligations upon the Musalmans. On the other hand, we have Syed Wazir Hasan and Mr. Mohammad Ali, two of our foremost workers in the interests of Islam. During the comparatively short period of their career, they have proved, beyond the shadow of a doubt, their sterling worth and their whole-hearted devotion to the Muslim cause. The singleness of purpose with which they have identified themselves with the best interests of Islam has justly earned them high appreciation. It would, under the circumstances, have been most unfortunate if the differences of opinion which manifested themselves in London should have had any permanent effect. At a time like the present, we could ill-afford to lose the services of such a veteran as Syed Ameer Ali, whose presence at the head of our political organization in the centre of the vast British Empire is of great value. I am sure, gentlemen, you will have learnt with a feeling of relief and gratification that through the kind offices of our esteemed leader, H. H. Sir Aga Khan, the prevailing difficulties have been overcome, and that the London League is again a united whole ready to work strenuously and zealously for the promotion of our best interests.

There is, however, one point in connection with the recent discussion which requires to be laid down emphatically. The London League must be regarded as a branch of the Parent League, as its very name indicates, and must work on the line of policy laid down in India. Differences of opinion must be

welcomed, but differences of principle cannot be allowed. Constitutional means are open to each Branch of the League to raise questions of principle, but in that case the required procedure must be implicitly followed.

Gentlemen, you must have been amused at the criticism which has recently been levelled against what are termed the educated young Musalmans of India. Sedition and disloyalty appear to be the stock in trade of some critics. Need I tell them that there is not even the shadow of disloyalty or sedition amongst the Musalmans of India, whether young or old? Need I add that His Majesty's Musalman subjects in India are as thoroughly loyal to-day as ever they were before? If is perfectly true that the vivifying influence of education is having the same effect upon them as it has had upon the sister communities. They have become politically articulate and have organised themselves for the purpose of promoting the best interests of their community. They are availing themselves of the constitutional means open to every section of the Indian people. Can a single instance be quoted in which they have gone in the slightest degree beyond the accepted limits of constitutional agitation? Not only have we not overstepped its legitimate bounds, but I will unhesitatingly declare, on your behalf, that nothing is further removed from our minds than to engage in any movement or action which has in it the least tinge of disloyalty or sedition. It would be to the advantage of every one concerned if people would talk a little less of Indian disloyalty and sedition.

In conclusion, I beg to tender to you my grateful acknowledgments for your indulgence in bearing with me for so much time. I am deeply touched by your kindness and consideration, and beg to tender to you once again my sincere thanks for the high honour you have conferred upon me by inviting me to preside at your deliberations.¹

SECOND SITTING

The second sitting, which began at 2.30 p.m., was devoted

1. Presidential Address of Sir Ibrahim Rakimtulla, Kt., Bombay, Times of India Press, 1913.

to the consideration of resolutions. The first of these was moved by High Highness the Aga Khan, and ran as follows:

MUSLIM NATIONAL FUND

The All-India Muslim League is of opinion that in view of the growing political needs of the community, it is necessary to take steps to establish, in accordance with section 24 of the League's Constitution and Rules, a permanent fund to be called 'The Muslim National Fund', for furthering the objects laid down in the Constitution of the All-India Muslim League and the general political advancement of the community. The League hereby appoints a committee consisting of the following gentlemen from each province, with powers to add to their number, and authorizes the said committee to take all necessary steps to appeal for and raise the 'Fund'.

In a terse and pithy speech, His Highness said that this was one of those self-evident propositions which did not require any arguments to commend it to their acceptance; but like so many self-evident things its necessity was ignored in practical and daily conduct. For all these years there had been a crying need for an independent fund which was absolutely necessary for the political progress and advancement of Musalmans. If they did not like to support the League, he asked them to dissolve it. It was necessary to raise five or six lakhs of rupees for the National Fund, the absence of which was a national disgrace. Their greatest need was their political education in the best sense of the term, to teach them self-respect and self-discipline. and they would not have self-respect unless they are self-supporting. The sum required could be easily got together, but it must come from every province, every district and every section. It could not be called national until it was collected from the people at large.

The Raja of Mahmudabad seconded the resolution. He said that their political organization was mainly supported by His Highness the Aga Khan. If they failed to realize their obligation to raise a National Fund they would be lost. The resolution was carried by acclamation.

IMMIGRATION ACT

The next resolution, which was as follows, was moved by Nawab Zulfiqar Ali Khan.

The All-India Muslim League enters its emphatic protest against the provision of the Immigration Act passed by the South African Union Government, in that they violate promises by the ministers of the South African Government, and respectfully urges the Crown to veto the said Act.

The League further requests the Imperial and the Indian Government to adopt such measures as would ensure the Indians in South Africa just and honourable treatment as citizens of the Empire.

The League expresses its abhorrence of the cruel treatment to which Indians were subjected in South Africa during the recent passive resistance movement and strikes, and disapproves of the personnel of the Committee appointed by the South African Union to enquire into the matter.

The All-India Muslim League tenders its most respectful thanks to His Excellency the Viceroy for his statesmanlike pronounce ment of the policy of the Government of India on the South African question. The League requests the Imperial and Indian Government to take the steps needed to redress the grievance relating to the question of the £3 tax, indentured labour, domiciled educational test, the validity of Indian marriages and other questions bearing on the status of Indians in South Africa.

The speaker, in the course of his speech, reiterated the demand for the repeal of the three-pound tax and the removal of other disabilities under which the Indians were suffering. He said that the personnel of the Commission appointed by the South African Government had given satisfaction to none in India, as it did not have the confidence of Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues, who were immediately affected by it. He eulogized the services rendered in this connection by Mr. Gokhale, a distinguished patriot, whom all sections in India claimed as belonging to their own. He said Indians in South Africa demanded nothing that was not due to them, and their demand was that they should be recognized as subjects of His Majesty the King

Emperor and not be treated as so many helots. If the British Government had taken up the matter seriously, the affair would have been settled long ago. That public opinion in England could exercise adequate influence on the affairs of colonial govvernments was evident from the fact that, after the storm of indignation raised in India and England, the Union Government lost no time in appointing a commission. He appealed to all sections to demand justice until justice was done. The speaker, in conclusion, expressed the obligation of all India to Lord Hardinge for his most generous pronouncement in Madras and thanked him for deputing Sir Benjamin Robertson to put the Indian side of the case before the Commission.

Mr. Abdul Rauf, supporting the resolution, said that the time had come when the promises which were made by the rulers—that Indians would be treated as British subjects and that no differences would be made on account of race, religion or colour—should be fulfilled. The resolution was carried unanimously.

The next resolution on the programme laid down that the All-India Muslim League was of opinion that the Press Act be amended in the light of the recent decision of the Calcutta High Court. The discussion of this resolution was postponed till the next day.

Abul Kalam Maulvi Syed Abdul Wadood, the Secretary of the Bareilly District Muslim League, rose at this stage and said that he had brought a special message from Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur, who was to Mohammedans what Mr. Dadabhai Nauroji was to India. He lived in retirement like Mr. Dadabhai, but he had sent a message that he had faith in Syed Wazir Hasan and Mr. Mohammad Ali, and recognized their self-sacrificing services in proceeding to England to place their case before British statesmen. The Nawab had sent floral garlands for the two gentlemen, which the President put round their necks amidst loud and continued cheers of the assembly.

SEPARATION OF EXECUTIVE AND JUDICIARY

Khan Bahadur Mian Mohammad Shafi moved the following resolution:

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The All-India Muslim League urges the separation of judicial from executive functions, placing the judiciary under the control of the highest court in every province.

In an eloquent speech which evoked great enthusiasm, Mr. Shafi urged that it was time that the state of affairs which made an officer a prosecutor as well as a judge was put to an end.

Mr. Sami-ul-lah Beg seconded and Mr. Mohammad Ali supported the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

The meeting then adjourned until the following day.

THIRD SITTING

The last day of the Seventh Session of the League opened with a large attendance of members and visitors. It was anticipated that the day's discussions would be rather lively, owing to the fact that there had been considerable difference of opinion in the previous night's meeting of the Council in discussing the draft resolutions on the Press Act and on communal representation. The president arrived at the *Pandal* punctually at eleven o'clock and took his seat on the dais amidst deafening cheers. The proceedings were again marked by orderly conduct of business. The fixing of a time limit on speeches proved to be a salutary measure and greatly facilitated the despatch of business. The President appealed to the members not to introduce personal matters in the consideration of the resolutions, and this was greatly responsible for the unanimity that prevailed. However, on the question of the representation on local boards, even the President was unable to prevent a division. This question evoked a great divergence of opinion which found expression in two amendments. The discussion threatened to be acrimonious and bitter, but this was prevented by the strong and firm attitude of the President, staunchly supported by His Highness the Aga Khan, who sat by his side and supported his authority and ruling. The discussion was characterized by warmth of feeling, and leading men from various provinces took an active part in it.

PRESS ACT

The fourth resolution, which was moved by Mr. Abul Qasim, ran as follows:

The All-India Muslim League is of opinion that the Press Act be now repealed, especially in view of the recent judgment of the Calcutta High Court, which has declared that the safeguards provided in the Act are illusory and incapable of being enforced.

Mr. Qasim said he was not asking Mohammedans to accept the resolution because it was adopted by the Council of Muslim League, which was their subjects committee, but because the Act stood condemned on its merits. It not only defiled the Indians tatute-book, it had defiled the Indian national character. As soon as a man entered the profession of journalism he had to acknowledge that he was a criminal of some kind, and his mouth was gagged. It was through the press that Government knew the people and were informed of what was happening in the country; and it was more in the interest of Government than the people that the Act should be repealed.

Muslim papers had been persecuted, and the speaker instanced the case of several papers, particularly Al-Hadis of Amritsar, which had suffered, he said, for no offence. The present measure was enacted to take care of papers like the Juganter, which, however, ceased to exist before the Act came into being. The penal laws of the land were quite adequate to deal with such crimes as the Press Act was intended to cover.

Dr. Nazir-ud-Din Hasan, seconding the resolution, said that Government provided safeguards, but they were not sufficient, and the Act gave a powerful weapon to irresponsible officials, who frequently misused it.

The resolution was supported by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Editor of Al-Hilal, who made a strong speech in Urdu demanding the immediate repeal of the Act.

The resolution was unanimously carried.

COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION

The fifth resolution was moved by Maulvi Rafi-ud-Din, and ran as follows:

The All-India Muslim League once again records its deliberate opinion that in the interests of the Musalman community, it is absolutely necessary that the principle of communal representation be extended to all self-governing public bodies, and respectfully urges that a provision for the adequate and effective representation of Musalmans on municipal and district boards is a necessary corollary of the application of the principle to the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils, and at the same time essential to the successful working of those public bodies.

The speaker said the resolution was very important, yet it should be passed without much discussion, as for the last six years it had been unanimously passed at every sitting of the League. Lord Minto acknowledged the justice of the demand long ago.

The resolution was seconded by Shaikh Zahur Ahmed.

The President said that notice had been given of an amendment to the resolution, and he wanted to give ample opportunity for its discussion.

Mr. Mujib-ur-Rahman moved the following amendment: The All-India Muslim League is of opinion that in order to protect the rights and safeguard the interests of Musalmans, it is absolutely necessary that they should be adequately and effectively represented on all local self-governing bodies, and urges upon the Government to make provision for such representation, and the League is further of opinion that the proportion of elected members on local bodies should be increased.

Mr. Abul Qasim, seconding, said he was as anxious as his co-religionists for effective representation in councils and local bodies. He explained the difference between the original resolution and the amendment. He did not attach so much importance to separate representation as to effective representation. The Government had reserved the right of increasing the number in council or local bodies to itself, which was a sufficient safeguard.

At the conclusion of Mr. Qasim's speech, the President said he had received notice of a second amendment, which he would also like to place before the League.

Mr. Mohammad Ali moved the second amendment, which ran as follows: The All-India Muslim League is of opinion that the consideration of the question of communal representation in self-governing bodies should be postponed for a year.

Mr. Mohammad Ali said that in India there were two communities, the Hindus and Musalmans, and it would be impossible for either of them to eradicate the other. It would be to the ultimate interest of India for the two communities to merge together. He said the Hindus had always opposed separate representation in the Congress; but this year, out of regard for Muslim feeling, they had passed the resolution. This clearly showed that the Hindus were convinced of the good intentions of the Mohammedans. He wanted the two communities to unite, and it was for Musalmans to move forward in the matter. They must show that they were prepared to meet the Hindus halfway. He urged this, not because the Hindus wanted reconciliation, but because the procedure he suggested was in perfect keeping with the teachings of the Prophet. Both communities were at fault, and both must excuse each other.

Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, in seconding the amendment, strongly appealed to Musalmans not to press the question this year. The question was of the utmost importance and the proposal that it should be postponed till next year was a responsible one.

He urged them to consider the question dispassionately, not from the point of view of present gain, but of lasting advantage in the future. He assured his co-religionists that by demanding special representation they would get only two watertight compartments. The position was extremely difficult. They had begged the Indian National Congress to drop the question, which they did; and it should not be too much to ask Mohammedans to postpone the question for one year. In politics expediency was of the utmost value. There were many other reasons why he asked his co-religionists for a postponement, but he could not give any of these reasons in public. He finally begged Musalmans not to press the question, for if they did they would get the shadow and not the substance.

There being some show of feeling in the auditorium at this stage, His Highness the Aga Khan came forward and made a stirring appeal to those present to consider the question dispassionately. He said the question was not whether Mohammedans would renounce what they had got. The question was whether the time was propitious to pass a resolution this year. In his opinion it would be better to concentrate on more important problems like that of South Africa. Time should be allowed to the leaders of the two communities to arrive at a settlement. If no compromise were arrived at, they could take up the question next year. It would promote the cause of Islam if they showed their good intentions to their neighbours.

Syed Raza Ali said it did not require much display of enthusiasm to convey the urgency of the demand for communal representation. In the Punjab and the United Provinces, Musalmans were nowhere as far as representation on local bodies was concerned.

The speaker then referred to Mr. Mohammad Ali, and the President, intervening said that personalities should not be allowed.

Mr. Raza Ali concluded by urging the League to pass the resolution.

Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque said that he was alone when he had made similar proposals at Lucknow the previous year, but now some leading Mohammedans held similar views to those he held. Their amendment might be lost, but the discussion showed who was right and who was wrong. The object of Musalmans should be to keep good relations with other communities. The welfare of India depended on the union of Hindus and Mohammedans. He all along held that separate representation was harmful to the interests of Musalmans. He entreated his co-religionists not to press the resolution this year.

Nawab Mir Asad Ali Khan observed that the Musalmans could not, at present, do without communal representation on local bodies, and stressed the necessity of passing the resolution.

Nawab Zulfiqar Ali Khan and Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami contended that nothing would be lost by postponing the resolution for a year. Mr. Abdul Rauf said the original resolution must be passed, and he was supported by Khan Bahadur Alay Nabi and several others. The President said the question had been

amply discussed both by supporters of the resolution, and by supporters of the amendments. He had only one alternative left and that was to decide the adoption of the original resolution or the amendments by votes.

There was a prolonged discussion on how votes should be recorded (amidst shouts of "Order"). Ultimately it was decided by a ruling from the Chair that the original resolution and the two amendments would be put to the vote separately in accordance with Rule 32 of the Rules governing the Muslim League. This Rule laid down that the votes should be recorded according to the allotment of the number of members to the Council of the League by provinces. After the votes had been recorded, the result was declared as follows:

For the original resolution, 89 votes; for the amendment for postponement moved by Mr. Mohammad Ali, 40 votes. The President said that in view of the result obtained, he asked whether it was necessary to put Mr. Mujib-ur-Rahman's amendment to the vote. Mr. Abdul Qasim said it would be better if it were declared that the amendment was lost. The President appealed to Mr. Abul Qasim to withdraw his amendment. Mr. Mujib-ur-Rahman's amendment was withdrawn, and the original resolution was declared passed.

The sitting adjourned for lunch at 3 p.m.

FOURTH SITTING

On the resumption of the Session in the afternoon, Mr. Abdul Wali Khan moved the following resolution:

INDIANS IN BRITISH ARMY

The All-India Muslim League is of opinion that as the highest civil offices in the State have been thrown open to Indians, the time has now arrived when the Government should give them a real share in the defence of their country by appointing qualified Indians to higher post and commissions in the British army, for which Europeans alone up till now are eligible.

He said it was unnecessary to recount the feats of valour performed by native troops in various campaigns on many battlefield. It had been seen how much the Indians could be trusted in military affairs. The resolution, being duly seconded by Dr. Nazir-ud-Din Hasan, was carried.

PUNJAB CHIEF COURT

The next resolution, moved by Mr. Gul Mohammad, ran as follows:

The All-India Muslim League is of opinion that the status of the Punjab Chief Court should be raised to that of a chartered High Court. Being duly seconded by Mr. Hamid Hasan, the resolution was carried unanimously.

INDIANS IN AFRICA

Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami moved the following resolution:

The All-India Muslim League records its deliberate opinion that the present status of Zanzibar should not be changed, and that the present rights, privileges and status of the Indians in British East Africa and Uganda should remain intact.

The mover said the whole world was watching what was happening in South Africa, and he had no doubt that the people of India were anxious that their fellowmen should not suffer in any way in any part of the world.

The resolution, being duly seconded by Haji Mohammad Musa Khan, was carried unanimously.

IMMIGRATION TO CANADA

The following resolution was moved by Nawab Zulfiqar Ali Khan:

The All-India Muslim League is of opinion that prohibition against immigration resulting from the operation of Privy Council Order No. 920, generally known as the continuous journey clause, has practically the effect of preventing any single native or citizen of India from going to Canada, inasmuch as there is no

ship companies refuse through booking; it not only stops immigration altogether from India to Canada, but has the effect of placing the present Indian settlers in Canada to great hardship by precluding them from calling over their wives and children; that the order in question thus operates most unjustly towards the loyal Indian subjects of His Majesty, and that this League urges upon the Imperial Government the advisability of repealing it, or exempting the people of India from its operation.

The resolution, having been seconded by Mr. Abdul Aziz, was carried.

EXECUTIVE COUNCILS

Mr. Mohammad Ali moved the following resolution:

The All-India Muslim League is of opinion that in view of the formation of Executive Councils in Bengal and in the new Province of Bihar, the remaining major portion, i.e., the United provinces and the Punjab, should be granted the same privileges to which they are equally entitled to secure administrative efficiency and the general progress of those provinces.

The speaker said the population of the United Provinces was no less than 48 million, which was more than that of Great Britain, where the sole right of Government was vested in a Parliament in which the voice of the people was predominant. The benefit of such a system was that if one man had done wrong, his action could be checked or rectified by others. In the administration of local governments in India, secretaries in charge of departments were engrossed in their own work, and the people's work could not be done well unless it was entrusted to such a body of men as an executive council.

The resolution was seconded by Mr. Fazl-ul-Haque, and was carried.

MUSLIM ENDOWMENTS

Mr. Fazal Husain moved the following resolution:

The All-India Muslim League respectfully reiterates its prayer that the Government may be pleased to institute a thorough inquiry into the general purposes and manner of administration of existing Musalman endowments designed mainly for the public benefit.

Being seconded by Nawab Mir Ali Khan, the resolution was carried unanimously.

COW SACRIFICE

Mr. Fazl-ul-Haque moved the following resolution:

The All-India Muslim League, while recognizing the necessity of respecting the legitimate sentiments of the Hindu population regarding the manner of offering cow sacrifices on the occasion of the *Bakrid*, protest against the action taken by the local authorities of Fyzabad and other places in the said matter, which in the opinion of the League, constitutes an unwarranted interference in the religious rights of the Muslim community.

Both the mover and the seconder, Mr. Abdul Rauf, said that all differences between the communities at the time of a religious festival should be settled by the communities themselves, and the authorities should not be allowed to interfere. Mr. Abdul Rauf asked the respective communities to devise methods to avoid all causes of trouble, and to respect each other's feelings. The British Government were loved because of their promise of non-interference in the religion of the people, and on that account they would protest against any official interference in their religious ceremonies.

The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

PLACES OF WORSHIP

Nawab Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhri moved the following resolution:

The All-India Muslim League urges upon the Government the imperative necessity of taking all legislative and other steps necessary to safeguard the existence of and to keep intact all public places of worship and other sacred places in India.

In a brief speech, the mover urged that to give effect to the resolution, the Land Acquisition Act should be amended.

Munshi Ehtisham Ali seconded the resolution.

Maulvi Mohammad Akram Khan moved an amendment to the effect that the words 'and sanctity' should be inserted after the word 'existence'. The mover accepted the amendment and the resolution was then passed unanimously.

PERMANENT SETTLEMENT

Mirza Sami-ul-lah Beg moved the following resolution:

The All-India Muslim League is of opinion that the Permanent Settlement be extended to such parts of the country as are now ripe for it, in accordance with the condition laid down in the Secretary of State for India's despatches of 1862 and 1867 on the subject; and that where Government may still deem it inadvisable to introduce the Permanent Settlement, judicial restrictions be imposed on overassessment.

The mover eulogized the services of the late Mr. R.C. Dutt, who had rendered admirable services to India on questions of the land revenue policy of the Government. He said the agrarian trouble of India would be settled once for all if the Permanent Settlement were extended all over the country.

There were some dissentient voices against the resolution, and Mr. Mohammad Ali and Mr. Mujib-ur-Rahman were among the opposers. The resolution was, however, carried by a majority.

COUNCIL OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE

Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah moved the following resolution:

That the Council of the Secretary of State be reconstituted on the following lines: (a) That the salary of the Secretary of State for India should be placed on the English estimates. (b) That with a view to the efficiency and independence of the Council. it is expedient that it should be partly nominated and partly elected. (c) That the total number of members of the Council should be nine. (d) That the elected portion of the Council should consist of not less than one-third of the total number of members who should be non-official Indians chosen by a constituency consisting of elected members of the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils. (e) That no less than one-half of the nominated portion of the Council should consist of public men of merit and ability unconnected with the Indian Administration. (f) That the remaining portion of the nominated Council should consist of officials who have served in India for not less than ten years and have not been away from India for more than two years. (g) That the character of the Council should be advisory and not administrative. (h) That the term of office of each member should be five years.

The mover urged that the salary of the Secretary of State should be placed on the English estimates. He also urged that the Council should be advisory and not administrative. The Secretary of State was, at present, playing the Great Mughal more than any Mughal ruler of India.

Mr. Abdul Rauf said that if the salary of the Secretary of State were placed on the British estimates, English people would have a firm grip on his action.

Mr. Rafi-ud-Din Ahmed moved an amendment to the effect that the following words be added: That Mohammedan representation should be duly safeguarded in any extension or modification of the Council of the Secretary of State.

The amendment being accepted by Mr. Jinnah, the entire resolution was carried unanimously.

CAWNPORE MOSQUE

The last resolution was moved by His Highness the Aga Khan, and ran as follows:

The All-India Muslim League begs to place on record its warm appreciation of the wise and courageous statesmanship with

which His Excellency the Viceroy dealt with the Cawnpore Mosque case and expresses its deep sense of gratitude for his bringing peace to Cawnpore and the Muslim community in a manner which has enhanced the faith of the people of India in British Justice.

His Highness, who spoke in Persian, said the truth was with the Musalman community, and it was upheld by His Excellency the Viceroy, who set aside the order of the Lieutenant-Governnor. He restored the Mosque, and Musalmans got back their right. It was now their duty to thank the Viceroy and he asked Mohammedans to pass the resolution unanimously. Although on some occasions the Government had to resort to harshness, the British Government was always just.

Raja Sir Mohammad Ali Mohammad Khan of Mahmudabad supporting in Urdu, related the history of the Mosque affair. He said that those engaged in the Cawnpore affair had to bear great suffering. Every kind of appeal that was made had been refused. After all, justice had been done. The hundred and five prisoners, who suffered immensely, had all been released, and His Excellency had not only restored the Mosque, but also restored the national honour of Musalmans.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad said justice was not obtained from the local government from whom the public expected justice, but from the heights of Simla. Though he knew that justice could not always be expected from officers in this country, he knew for certain that justice would ultimately come from the British Crown.

Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque said no one was more grateful to the Viceroy than himself. No better settlement could have been arrived at, and he gave a brief account of what happened at Cawnpore, and how much relief he now felt. He thanked Mohammedans for their liberal support. In conclusion, he said he knew how much Lord Hardinge was abused by the Civil Service in this country, but he had maintained the highest tradition of British rule.

The resolution was received with great acclamation and carried unanimously.

ELECTIONS

On the motion of Syed Wazir Hasan, Honorary Secretary, All-India Muslim League, the election of the following office-bearers for the All-India Muslim League was carried through:

The Hon'ble Raja Sir Mohammad Ali Mohammad Khan, K.C.I.E., of Mahmudabad, The Hon'ble Raja Sir Tasadduq Rasul Khan, K.C.S.I., of Jahangirabad, Nawab Abdul Majid, C.I.E., Bar-at-Law, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur, Nawab Fateh Ali Khan Qazalbash, C.I.E., The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Mohammad Shafi, Bar-at-Law, Nawab Khwaja Sir Salimul-lah Khan Bahadur, K.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Nawab Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhri, Prince Ghulam Mohammad, The Hon'ble Captain Malik Umar Hayat Khan, C.I.E., M.V.O., Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim, Bart. The Hon'ble Sir Fazalbhoy Currimbhoy Ibrahim, K.C.I.E., Khan Bahadur H.M. Malak, Mr. Abdul Aziz, Bar-at-Law, Mr. Abdul Karim Abd-us-Shakur Jamal, Haziq-ul-Mulk Hakim Hafiz Mohammad Ajmal Khan, His Highness Sir Sultan Mohammad Shah Aga Khan, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

Mr. Wazir Hasan announced that His Highness the Aga Khan had resigned the Presidentship of the All-India Muslim League. He had not read the letter which he received from His Highness in London. He thought it would be a calamity for Mohammedans when his Highness resigned.

Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla said that, however painful the decision of His Highness the Aga Khan was, it was irrevocable and they had to accept it. He, however, appealed to His Highness not to place his resignation in their hands to-day and to continue as President till the rules of the League were altered.

His Highness said he would remain President for the time suggested. He said in no case would he severe his connection with the League as Vice-President. In conclusion, he thanked the Chairman and Members of the Reception Committee and volunteers for the way they had discharged their duties.

Raja Sir Mohammad Ali Mohammad Khan of Mahmudabad proposed votes of thanks to the Chair.

 A meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League was held on February 25, 1914, and His Highness the Aga Khan was elected Vice-President. The President, in replying, said that when he accepted the invitation to be President he did it with full knowledge of his responsibility. Somebody had told him that he would find members of the League fighting among themselves, but on coming to the meeting he found the Muslim community as healthy and as vigorous as ever. Differences of opinion were a healthy sign. In conclusion, he wished long life to the League.

With cheers for the President, His Highness the Aga Khan, and the Raja of Mahmudabad, the Seventh Session of the League concluded at 7:30 p.m.¹

^{1.} Proceedings of the Annual Sessions of the All-India Muslim League held at Agra. Compiled by Syed Wazir Hasan, Hon. Secretary, All-India Muslim League. Published by the All-India Muslim League, Lucknow, 1914.

Chapter 16

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

EIGHTH SESSION

Bombay, Dec. 30, 1915-Jan. 1, 1916

FIRST SITTING

The Eighth Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League was held at Bombay on December 30, 1915, at 2 p.m. It was memorable in every way—in good attendance, the great enthusiasm that prevailed and the dignity and devotion with which the proceedings were carried on. The picturesque and magnificent pandal, specially erected in the Marine Lines just by the side of the sea, held more than 5,000 people.

Mr. Abdul Husain Adamji Peerbhoy, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the guests, said:

It is with the greatest pleasure that I rise on behalf of the Musalmans of Bombay to welcome so many distinguished representatives of our community assembled here to-day, who have come from every part of India to attend the annual session of the League. Many of you have travelled long distances and borne considerable personal sacrifice in response to your keen sense of public duty; and your presence in this great communal gathering is, to my mind, the best guarantee we could have that the interests of our community and country are at heart. I thank you most deeply and sincerely, in the name of those whom I am privileged to represent, for the honour you have done us, and for the right counsel and judgment that you have brought to the service of the great ends we all have in view.

Gentlemen, the task that lies before us is rendered heavier and more anxious by the peculiar circumstances in which we meet to-day. The gigantic conflict in which more than half the world is engaged affects, in a greater or lesser degree, the fortunes of almost every section of mankind; but the fate of India is in a very direct and intimate sense involved in the tremendous issues that are being fought out amongst the great nations of Europe. As an integral part of the British Empire, India stands or falls with Great Britain; and it is a bold and frank recognition of this fact that, in the supreme crisis, has evoked the profound attachment and devotion of the Indian people to the British Crown and moved them as one man to bear all possible sacrifices in defence of the honour and stability of the Empire. The remarkable unity of purpose to which all classes in this country have given expression by word and deed can have but one meaning, that India recognizes to the full the benefits she has hitherto derived through her connection with Great Britain, and that it is only in the continuance of this connection that she sees the promise of a new resurrection and the ultimate realization of our supreme aim to raise her to her full stature as a free and self-reliant member of the British Empire.

In this unity of purpose, the Musalmans of India have freely and thoroughly shared ever since the outbreak of the war. What they owe to England in her hour of need they have cheerfully and ungrudgingly offered. They will not hesitate to do their duty by King and country as long as this terrible struggle lasts. In circumstances of extreme delicacy and in moments of the sorest trials, they have held firm to the faith that binds them to England.

I refer to this mainly because of a few apprehensive souls amongst us who considered the holding of this Session of the League as undesirable on account of the war. If the action of the Council of the League had been influenced by the baseless fears which found expression in some quarters, it would have compromised the position of our community, and the most important political organization of the Indian Musalmans would have been reduced to impotence. I am thankful to think that saner counsels prevailed and the Council of the League was guided in its decision by wisdom and common sense.

I need hardly refer to the unfortunate differences of opinion which manifested themselves in Bombay about the meeting of the League in the city. Those differences are now happily over, and nothing remains of them, I trust, that should mar the

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success of this Session.

This is the first time that the All-India Muslim League meets in Bombay. I regard it as an event of happy augury for the future of Bombay Musalmans that they should have the benefit of the counsel, sympathy and advice of so many of their coreligionists of light and leading from other parts of the country in matters relating to their welfare and in all questions of the public weal. My only hope is that the meeting of the League here will leave some tangible and abiding result behind, which would lead to a better organization of our efforts for the amelioration of the affairs of our community and country.

Gentlemen, as I have already said, we meet under the shadow of a devastating and terrible struggle in which our King Emperor is engaged. This necessarily imposes circumspection on us, but we are not surely debarred from the consideration of the vital problems of our destiny in India on that account. The war will not last for ever; it may, for aught we know, end before many months are over. It has already raised pressing problems for the internal organization of the British Empire which cannot wait long for solution. It has thrown the whole relationship between India and England into a new perspective. A new understanding has dawned on the British mind in regard to Indian affairs, and a new spirit of sympathy for the Indian people has been kindled in the heart of the British nation. The old horizons are shifting, and we stand at the threshold of a new era that will at last witness the fruition of India's hopes.

Could it be wise, could it be reasonable, could it be patriotic for us to have remained passive spectators while all the rest of the Indian people are stirring to new life, and the programme of India's immediate future is fast undergoing the process of formulation? If we are to lead the life of a self-respecting and self-reliant community, we must resolutely shoulder our part of the burden and actively and whole-heartedly assist in the task of reconstruction. No individual or community has ever deserved anything that it has not striven to achieve. Only fools and imbeciles trust to luck or happy accident in politics. To me, as indeed to every self-respecting Musalman, it would be a humaliating spectacle if our community shirked its duty to participate in the stress and toil and the heat and burden of the day, and quietly walked up at the last moment to demand a share

in the fruits of achievement with a large beggar's bowl in its hand. No such easy method would do now. We have to rely on ourselves, on our own efforts, and with our own energy shall we have to rough-hew the path of our destiny.

I rejoice to think that the spirit of self-reliance is growing fast in our community, and it is one of the happy results of this spirit that we see the rapid disappearance of distrust which has hitherto kept the Indian communities apart, and the birth of a new desire for mutual understanding and co-operation. The future of India is bound up with the continued unity of aim and purpose of her entire people.

Gentlemen, I would not anticipate in every detail the work that you have met to do. I have briefly indicated the spirit that I am sure will inspire your efforts, and trust to God that your labours may be crowned with success. I thank you once again for the trouble you have taken to be here to-day. You will please accept the poor hospitality that we have been able to offer you in Bombay. Our shortcomings are many but you will kindly take the will for the deed.

In conclusion, I beg the distinguished President of this Session to take the Chair.

Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque then delivered his Presidential Address:

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF MR. MAZHAR-UL-HAQUE

Please accept my sincere and heartfelt thanks for the great honour you have done me by electing me the President of the All-India Muslim League this year. It is a proud privilege to preside over and guide the deliberations of this distinguished gathering, where representatives of 70 million of His Britannic Majesty's Indian Muslim subjects are assembled in conference for the betterment of their condition, and for counsel and consultation together on the affairs of their country. Happy is the man who has secured this privilege and is placed by the suffrage of his people in such a proud position. I feel the honour the more deeply, as it has come to me unsolicited. I am not presumptuous enough to take it merely as a personal compliment, but I take it as a tribute to the high ideals and new aspirations which are pulsating through the Islamic society of India.

Times are most unpropitious for expressing views and convictions which, in normal times of peace, there would have been no harm in frankly and unreservedly putting before our community and our Government. The present terrible conflict of nations enjoins upon us the paramount duty of saying or doing nothing which may embarrass or weaken the hands of our Government by producing undesirable excitement in the people, or lead to any impression upon foreign nations that we are in any way inimical or even indifferent to the best interests of the Empire. But I see no harm in reiterating our old demands and trying to put our own house in order. I am addressing you under a deep and heavy sense of responsibility, and with your help and co-operation, in the performance of my difficult and delicate task, which I am sure will not be denied to me at this supreme moment, I hope to bring the deliberations of this meeting to a successful conclusion. Nor am I unmindful of my own unfitness for the great task you have entrusted to me. I am no orator and am not accustomed to speak in a style full of sonorous phrases and rounded periods; I can only speak to you as a man of ordinary intelligence who has given some thought to the questions of the day. It was when the invitation of our Secretary, my dear and esteemed friend Mr. Wazir Hasan, reached me that the difficulty of my position and the delicacy of my task flashed into my mind; but I could refuse such a request only at the risk of being charged with deserting my people at a critical juncture; so I decided to come here at your urgent call. and you must take me with all my limitations as you find me.

Tribute to the Dead

My next duty is to refer to some of the grievous losses that India has suffered during the past year. I am not going to make any distinction between Muslims and Hindus—Indians and Europeans. All those who have worked for the improvement of India are entitled to our grateful and affectionate remembrance.

To begin with our own community, the loss sustained by us in the death of that philosopher-poet and historian, Shams-ul-Ulema Maulana Altaf Husain Hali, is irreparable. His great poetical work, the *Musaddas*, electrified Muslim India. It opened our eyes, roused our sleeping energies, and infused into

the minds of our countrymen a life, the effect of which we see before our eyes to-day. Indeed, the mission of the great Sir Syed himself would have remained half-unfinished, had it not been for the revivifying and rejuvenating character of the works of Hali. Sir Syed himself used to say that if God asked him on the judgment-day what work he had done in this world, he would produce a copy of the *Musaddas* and reply that he had induced Hali to write that immortal work. So high was the value placed upon Hali by perhaps the greatest judge of Muslim worth and character in modern times.

Then we have lost in Shams-ul-Ulema Maulana Shibli Nomani a research scholar of subtle intellect and unrivalled erudition, an ardent patriot and nationalist to the very backbone, ever untiring in rousing the Muslim community from its deep slumber of ages. In Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami, we have lost one of the dearest and most lovable personalities that could be imagined. He was a sincere and bold advocate of our cause, and the last few years of his life he devoted to the practical solution of many knotty problems of Islamic education, and made Aligarh his home and centre of many-sided activities.

The Hon'ble Khwajah Ghulam-us-Saqlain was a finished product of our Aligarh College, that great seat of Muslim learning in India, and we have lost him in the very flush of youth and the hey-day of his life. It is sad to contemplate that a career so full of promise should be cut short so soon. He was a bold social reformer, a tenacious and determined worker, a ripe and laborious scholar, a man who showed his profession in his practice, one who dared to live the life he preached. Outside the pale of Islam, India mourns the loss of two of her greatest sons, Gopal Krishma Gokhale and Sir Phirozeshah Mehta, both from this Presidency of Bombay. The time has not yet come to judge the noble services performed by them in the cause of their motherland, nor yet is it the time fully to appreciate the magnitude of the loss sustained by the entire country. They were giants of their generation. Their life-long and selfless services to India will remain as principal landmarks in the reformation of India. They stand as a class by themselves. The whole history of India's reawakening is bound up with their lives. It is with awe and reverence that I refer to these towering personalities; and with a last respectful and silent bow I step aside,

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with full heart and the deepest sorrow.

Let us not forget the love and devotion of an Englishman to the cause of India. Sir Henry Cotton was an Anglo-Indian, belonging to the Civil Service; but he ever fought and worked and suffered for us. Till his dying day his thought was with India. He was not of us; yet he was ours.

Gentlemen, I have referred to these sad deaths in some detail, and my object in doing so has been to remind you of the sacrifices that these sons of India underwent in the cause of their native land, and to beg of you, and of the whole country, to bear in mind the character of their work and to draw inspiration from their great lives, so that our own may follow the lines they have marked out for us. If we follow their examples, we may be sure our endeavours will blossom into the choicest fruit.

The Annual Session—Its Imperative Need

Brethren, before I enter upon what I consider as the constructive part of my address, let me dissipate some apprehensions which have been exercising the minds of some people regarding our Session this year. In the first place there has been a minority amongst us opposed to the holding of any assemblage of the League, whilst there have been others who have been against holding it in Bombay. This minority contains leaders whose views and opinions are entitled to a respectful hearing from us because of their position, influence, ability and past services. Those holding the opinion that the Session of the League ought not to have been held at all, did so on the following grounds: first, that a world-wide war is raging and, secondly, that Turkey, an Islamic country, is ranged against the British Empire; hence any expression of views regarding the war or the general condition of India would inevitably lead to the embarrassment of the Government in its attempts to prosecute the war successfully. To my mind, this view is based upon nervousness, which entirely misappreciates the present situation. I believe we all fully realize the seriousness of this situation, and are united in our firm determination not to add one iota to the present difficulties or anxieties and, also, in our sincere effort to help our Government, both materially and morally, in every possible way. Nor do I believe that the Muslims of India have so far

taken leave of their senses, and are so little capable of exercising control and prudence or are so willing and ready to jeopardize the best interests of their country, as to utter wild and irresponsible words for the mere satisfaction of hearing their own voices. Such a belief in any one would be highly unjust to the great community, to which we have the honour to belong. Have the Muslims alone, of all the other communities inhabiting this ancient land of Hindustan, the monopoly of wild talk and foolish ideas? When I see that the sister communities are holding their congresses and conferences in this great city, I ask myself: Are the Muslims alone to shut their mouth, sit with folded hands and keep themselves aloof from all activities? I fail to see any sound and valid reason for their silence at this time. If the prophets are to be believed, the war is going to end next spring, a new India is to arise under new conditions, and her problems are to be solved by the adoption of a new angle of vision. Are we alone to take no share in this reconstruction of our country? Are we alone to be left behind in this race for a nobler, larger and higher life? Are we alone to remain torpid and lifeless? I refuse to contemplate such an abject and degraded life for the followers of Islam in India. This is shutting one's eyes deliberately to the signs of the times. This is preferring suicide to an existence of activity full of promise, an inglorious death to a glorious life. Further, our silence in these times would have been liable to ugly and mischievous interpretation. It would have been said that, of all the communities inhabiting India, it was the Muslims alone who did not raise their voice on behalf of the Empire, and who refused to stand by its side in the hour of its need and anxiety. Our past would have been entirely forgotten, and our present silence would have been flung into our face. I am glad to believe that in deciding to hold the Session of the League by an overwhelming majority you have acted with prudence and foresight. Remember, this world is a world of struggle, and struggle for existence is an immutable law of nature. Those who avoid it are doomed to destruction and final extinction. There is no such thing as standing still in this world. Either we must move forward or must go backward. Upon our right choice depends our very existence. What we must do is to go on in the right direction, otherwise we are never likely to reach the goal. If, because

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of our ignorance of the right path, or want of proper guidance or for any other cause, we are tempted to take the wrong direction, we shall be faced with two alternatives: either we shall have to retrace our steps, if we can, traverse the same ground over again and lose much valuable time, or we shall be doomed to destruction. These are truisms, but truisms well worth remembering, especially at this juncture. Obstacles we shall find in plenty on our way; perhaps they will at first appear to be insurmountable but wisdom, tenacity of purpose, strength of will and self-sacrifice will surmount them all.

The other class of critics who do not approve of our holding the meeting in Bombay is, I understand, neither so influential nor so numerous as the first class. They belong to, and are the remnants of, the old school who have had made a bogey of the Congress They think it dangerous that the Hindus and Mohammedans should come together and unite for the progress of India and, therefore, they want to keep them as far apart as possible. These views have long since been exploded, and I do not think it worth while to refute them at this late hour of the day. Now every thinking man fully realizes and is thoroughly convinced that, unless the whole country unites and strenuously works for the advancement of the motherland, no isolated effort can gather that momentum which is requisite for our regeneration. However, I was glad to learn that the unfortunate controversy that arose over these matters was settled.

Gentlemen, there is another misapprehension which is making some people unnecessarily anxious and which I think should be removed. It is said that our object in holding the League contemporaneously with the Congress in the same city is to deal a blow at the independence of the League, and to merge its individuality with that of the Congress. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Communities like individuals love and cherish their individuality. Every race and creed has its own particular features and characteristics developed in its own special way, which, in my opinion, are the chief source of its strength. It is when all combine and bring their individual characteristics into the common stock, that they contribute their quota towards the the formation of a strong and united nation. Bengalis have their own grand characteristics, so have the Sikhs, Maharattas and Parsis. Hindus of Madras have some lively strains of character.

So have we, the Muslims of India. In my opinion, we are distinguished from others by a peculiar virility of character, derived from our brilliant historical traditions, and a solidarity which binds the highest to the lowest with a common and indissoluble tie. easily attributable to the principles of our religion. Differentiation is at the bottom of evolutionary progress. When unity is evolved out diversity, then there is real and abiding national progress. Muslims as well as Hindus have to solve their own particular problems. The Haj question is peculiar to the Muslims and affects them most nearly, whilst the problem of caste does not press us so closely as it does our Hindu brethren. Well, it may be objected that these are religious and social questions and have nothing to do with politics and the propaganda of the League. True, but these are, after all, questions which have to be solved separately by the different communities in their own ways and according to their own feelings and requirements.

As a matter of fact, and speaking personally, I go further and think that even in such questions there are factors involved, such as the economic and sociological, which interact, however remotely, upon all communities and thus affect the Indian people as a whole. Under such conditions, who would assert that there is no necessity for the separate maintenance of such an institution as the All-India Muslim League, able to present an authoritative exposition of Muslim views on all questions affecting our community? What is most objectionable is that there should be an unyielding antagonism between the principal communities of this country, such as to retard its common progress, and that, instead of an honest attempt to understand each other's views, there should be an unreasoning hostility which has produced nothing but irreparable injury to our cause. It is quite time for different communities to realize fully that they are like so many limbs to the body-politic, and any attempt by one to aggrandize itself at the expense of the other must result in injury to the whole body. But those reflections, in the present happy state of feelings, have become out of date and need not be referred to in any detail. All communities are now united in sinking their so-called differences for the common good, and this state of feeling may continue long and develop to its uttermost limimits must be the prayer of every lover of India.

Islam in India

Before I proceed further, I should like the Muslims of India to realize their true position in the country. It is then and then alone that they can understand their rights, duties and responsibilities. Races, classes and creeds without number inhabit this ancient land. In this wonderful medley of peoples where do we come in? Have we any real place or not? Some people are influenced by ideas engendered by the teachings of history, often I fear, not very authentic or reliable history. The fact is that most historians, when dealing with nationalities and peoples other than their own, are obsessed either by political bias or religious prejudices. One hardly ever comes across any modern history which is free from such defects. If we desire to know the truth, we must go back to our own histories and read them in the light of modern methods.

The first advent of the Muslims in India was along these very coasts in the form of a naval expedition sent by the third Khalifa in the year 636 A.C. This was more than four hundred years before William the Conqueror defeated the Saxons at the battle of Hastings. After many vicissitudes, into the details of which it is unnecessary to go, the Muslim Empire was firmly established in India. These invaders made India their home and did not consider it a land of regrets. They lived amongst the people of the country, mixed with them freely and became true citizens of India. As a matter of fact, they had no other home but India. From time to time their number was strengthened by fresh blood from Arabia, Persia and other Muslim lands, but their ranks were swollen mainly by additions from the people of the country themselves. It is most interesting to know that out of the present 70 millions of the Muslim population, those who have claimed their descent from remote non-Indian ancestors amount only to 8 million. Whence have the remaining millions come, if not from Indian ranks? The Muslims enriched the hoary civilization of India with their own literature and art, evolved and developed by their creative and versatile genius. From the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, the entire country is studded with those gems of arts which remind one of the glorious period of Muslim rule. The result was a new civilization which was the outcome of the combined efforts of all the peoples of India and the product of two greatest civilizations in the history of the world. During Muslim times, all offices were equally open to all, without any distinction of class, creed or colour. The only conditions were fitness and efficiency. So we have the spectacle of a Hindu Prime Minister, a Hindu Commander-in-Chief, a Hindu Finance Minister and a Hindu Governor of Kabul. The ethnology and folklore of India speak eloquently of manners and customs showing the influence of one people upon the other.

The only link which the Muslims kept with the countries outside India was the spiritual link of their religion. This, under the circumstances, was inevitable. Islam enjoins a brotherhood which, in my humble opinion, is much wider and more catholic than the modern European notions of nationality. It embraces peoples of different races, colours and countries within its fold, whilst it does not exclude the binding forces of nationality. Arabian history is full of instances when Musalmans and Christians fought side by side to defend their country from the attacks of foreign foes. These are the facts of history written in large letters, which he who runs may read. This short historical retrospect may be succinctly expressed in two words which fully and clearly describe the elements and conditions of our existence in India. We are Indian Muslims. These words, 'Indian Muslims', convey the ideas of our nationality and of our religion, and as long as we keep our duties and responsibilities arising from these factors before our eyes, we can hardly go wrong.

The Duties of Indian Muslims

Now let us find out the duties that our nationality and religion require of us. Everyone in this assembly—and for all I know everyone outside it—will agree with me that our first and foremost duty is to our God, the King of Kings and the Ruler of the destinies of all countries and nations. We Muslims, who believe in the Divine Message—the Holy Quran—and the great Prophet of Arabia can reply to the Divine interrogatory in one way and one way only. The Quran is all-embracing in its character and scope, and has not left out the important questions of a Muslim's duties to his earthly sovereign and his non-Muslim neighbours. Our loyalty and patriotism are sustained by

the motive-power of our faith, and in my estimation a bad Muslim could never be a good subject or a good citizen.

Next to God, we owe duties to our sovereign, our country and our community. Our duty to our sovereign is plain and clear. Our loyalty as subjects of our King Emperor is unquestioning and unquestioned. We have proved it fully in the past and, if occasion arises, and if we are given the chance, we are prepared to prove it again. In these days of anxiety, the entire community has given its support to the utmost limit of its power, and is willing to give every help to and co-operate with the State in its gigantic task by every available means. No deed, action or speech of ours has ever hampered, or is likely to hamper, the Government in its obvious duty of maintaining the prestige and power of the great Empire to which we are privileged to belong. Nor have we ever failed in giving our best support to the Government of India in its legitimate function of carrying on the administration of the country. Of course this does not mean abstinence on our part from all criticisms of Government measures where we feel convinced that they militate against the best interests of the country or the Empire; but all such criticisms must be honest, sincere and dignified, and never couched in intemperate language or offered in a carping spirit or tinged with malice. Ideas are in the air which have no relation with the actualities of Indian conditions and, if persisted in, can bring nothing but misery and disappointment. The fact should be clearly realized that providence has joined the destiny of India with that of England and there is no fighting against providence. For better or worse, we have to live and work together. If I thought our destiny called for a complete separation and that it would be for the good of my country, I would not hesitate in saying so, though the penal and repressive laws might crush me afterwards. But I have no doubt in my mind and have no scruple in saying that this union is for the good of India and England, and we cannot do without the comradeship and guidance of England for a long time to come. We have derived numerous benefits and certainly more are to come in the fulness of time. But even if Indians wished it, they could not drive England out of India, nor could Englishmen, if they so desired it, leave India. If England left India to-morrow, what would be our fate? Any nation with a small army could take

possession of the country, and we should have to begin over again the work of 150 years. This is on the assumption that the newcomer would treat us exactly in the same manner as England has treated us up to this time. Would this be an advantage? Decidedly and emphatically, no. Self-interest is the foundation upon which the intentions and actions of nations are based; and we are no exception to the rule. We must realize the actual facts and make no mistake about them.

About what we owe to our non-Muslim fellow-subjects, I have never concealed my opinion before, and I can only repeat here what I have often said. I am one of those who have never taken a narrow and sectarian view of Indian politics. When a question concerning the welfare of India and of justice to Indians arises. I am not only an Indian first, but an Indian next and an Indian to the last, an Indian and an Indian alone, favouring no community and no individual, but on the side of those who desire the advancement of India as a whole without prejudice to the rights and interests of any individual, much less of any community, whether my own or another. But whenever any question arose on which there was a clear and unmistakable divine injunction conveyed to me by my God through my Prophet, I could not even consider, let alone accept as correct, anything conflicting with that injunction, no matter on what mundane authority it was based. With divine authority as my only guide I will be not only a Muslim first, but a Muslim next, a Muslim to the last and a Muslim and nothing but a Muslim. People may scoff and laugh, but I hold firmly to these convictions. In the affairs of my country, I stand for goodwill and close co-operation between all communities, with a single eye to the progress of the motherland.

If we look sufficiently deeply into the different questions affecting India, we should find hardly any which does not affect all equally. Are we less heavily taxed than are our Hindu or Parsi brethren? Do the repressive measures passed during recent times weigh less heavily upon the Musalmans than upon the Sikhs or the Marhattas? Are the newspapers of Muslims more free than those of the Hindus? Does the administration of justice produce different effects upon the different communities of India? Are the rigours and invidious distinctions of the Arms Act reserved only for the martial races, and are the non-martial

free from them? No. The truth is that in all essential matters such as legislation, taxation, administration of justice, education, we are all in the same boat, and we must sink or swim together. No doubt, there are occasions when differences arise which lead to heated discussions, and in the excitement of the moment hard words are said on both sides, which are regretted afterwards. Take, for instance, the question of special electorates. We all remember the bitterness of feeling produced by the controversy, and, I am afraid, this still rankles. You all know my views on the question, views which, I am afraid, have not found favour with the vast majority of my community; but, in my humble opinion, and I say it with due deference to the opinion of others, there is no reason why such questions should not be solved by the trusted leaders of all communities at a roundtable conference, discussing matters in a friendly spirit. There are a few other questions of temporary interest which do not in any way affect the essentials of our corporate life as citizens of a common land and could be easily solved by a little sobriety of judgment, based upon the principle of give and take.

As to the duties that we owe to ourselves, the first place I give to self-reliance. For too long have we relied upon others. It is quite time that we got rid of unreliable and temporary props, stood upon our own legs and became a self-reliant people. For too long has our policy been regulated by distrust and dominated by fear. We have unnecessarily feared and distrusted the Hindus. We have had an unholy awe of authority; and we have never placed any faith in ourselves, but have made ourselves dependent on others. All this must be changed. This policy has kept us from enjoying our rightful share in the public life of our country, to the great detriment of our best interests. We must have independence, and open our eyes in the fresh air.

Then, I am afraid, I see dissension even within our own community. This must be fought with all our strength and by every fair means within our grasp. The tendency to disunion ultimately ends in disruption. These are times when new forces are coming into play and new ideals are convulsing Muslim society, ideals which have to be carefully nursed and fostered and must not be frittered away in senseless dissensions. True organization is the secret of the strength of a society, and we must be so organized that our voice will command and compel respect, and

the country and the Government recognize in it the well-considered and unanimous opinion of the entire community, which it would not be easy to ignore. We cannot go on dissipating our strength in fruitless and harmful attempts at compromises that only hamper us in our onward progress. Our League has done most useful work. It is a progressive body and is ready to adapt itself to the necessities of the times; but unfortunately that sense of discipline, which would place the considered opinion of the majority over that of the minority, is sometimes lacking. I do not advocate that anyone should give up his independent views; but bickerings should cease and submission to the opinion of the majority must be insisted upon. A little self-control and sense of proportion is all that is wanted. We have numerous other duties to perform, but the time and space at my disposal are limited and you must excuse me if I do not deal with them.

What Others Owe Indian Muslims

I have dealt with the duties of the Muslims of India in their different phases; but we have corresponding rights which entail certain duties upon others. We expect from our non-Muslim fellow-countrymen the same consideration and co-operation which we are offering to them. It takes two to make a compact. A one-sided compact is no compact and can never be lasting. If we all bore this principle in mind, there could never be any serious difficulty.

Duties of Government

Brethren, just as we owe duties to Government, similarly the Government owes duties to us. It would be ungrateful on our part not to acknowledge the innumerable advantages that India has derived from her contact with England. England has given India the inestimable blessing of peace. She has maintained order amongst us. She is protecting us from external invasion and internal anarchy. She has given us a settled Government. She has brought the inventions of science to our very doors. Lastly, she has freed the intellect of India from its cramped prison, wherein it was able to rise no higher than a blind adherence to rather out-of-date authorities. To my mind, it is the greatest blessing

that the British rule has brought in its wake. After all, the brain rules the world; and when once it has become free and begun to perform its proper functions, without let or hindrance, progress is bound to follow as a natural consequence. England brought with her rule her noble literature, with its fine teachings of freedom and liberty. That is a real gift to India, and she can never sufficiently repay it. I freely confess all these boons and am sincerely grateful for them. But much more yet remains to be accomplished, and, from an Indian point of view, the things that have been left unaccomplished are the things that really matter in the life of a nation. England has borne the burden of India, but has not prepared her to bear her own burdens. She has not made her strong, self-reliant and self-supporting. She has not made her a nation respected by the other nations of the world. She has not developed the resources of the country, as it was her duty to develop them. She has not helped the Indian people to live a life of the greatest possible fulness. She has failed to bring out the capacities of people of Hindustan to their fullest extent.

England's connection with India has lasted for about a century and a half, and most parts of the country have been under her direct rule during this period. But the progress India has made with all her vast resources, martial, moral and economic, is comparatively very small. Compare her with other countries. Compare her with Japan. Within 40 years Japan, from being one of the weakest and most backward countries of the world, has advanced to the position of one of the foremost and the most highly developed nations, and is counted among the great powers. But in the case of India, the government of the country has been conducted on lines which were not conducive to any better result. The children of the soil have no real share in the government of their own country. Policy is laid down and carried on by non-Indians, which oftener than not goes against the wishes of the people and ignores their sentiments. Remember, I do not attribute motives. I believe the administration of the country has been carried on by conscientious, hard-working men, who have honestly done their work according to their best lights, but their work has degenerated into a mere routine. People who have spent their lives in carrying out details can hardlyever rise above their surroundings and view things from a broader outlook.

Principles and Performance

Policies and principles of a nobler kind may be laid down by higher authorities, but their value is determined by those who have to carry them out. Thus it has often been the case in India that noble intentions have degenerated into pious wishes and even into harmful actions. If the Indian peoples were real partners in the actual governance of the country, the Indian point of view would have prevailed, much that is now admitted to have been mistaken would have been avoided, the country would have progressed and the ruling classes would have been spared the bitter, and sometimes undeserved, criticisms hurled against them. Unless and until India has got a national Government and is governed for the greatest good of the Indian people, I do not see how she can be contented. India does not demand 'a place in the sun' in any aggressive sense, but she does require the light of the Indian sun for her own children.

Gentlemen, let us descend a little from generalities into details and see how the policy of the past has worked not only to our detriment, but to the positive weakening of the British rule itself. Let us see what small share we have in the larger life of the Empire. I have already said that we have no share in laying down the policy upon which India is ruled. Have we any share even in the different services of the country? Are we allowed to serve our own land and the Empire to the best of our capacity and ability? In every country the three premier services are considered to be the military, the naval and the diplomatic.

Indians in the Services

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Let us begin with the military. In spite of the numerous martial races who inhabit India in millions, no Indian can rise above the non-commissioned ranks. We cannot hope to gain a higher position than that of a Subedar-Major or a Risaldar-Major. Every position that would give them an independent command is closed to them. The regular army is limited in number, no volunteers are taken from our ranks, and the general population is rigorously disarmed. The Arms Act perpetuates invidious distinctions on grounds of colour and creed—distinctions most humiliating to the people of the country. Going about

their ordinary daily occupations, our people may be attacked by dacoits and evilly disposed persons or even by wild beasts, but they cannot defend themselves. Even lathis have been held by some judicial authorities to be dangerous weapons. Newspapers and official communiques tell us that ordinary Naiks of our Indian Army have on the battle field conducted themselves most bravely, and have led their companies with conspicuous gallantry and ability at times when all the English officers were either killed or disabled. If our men are capable of such initiative and valiant deeds on the actual field of battle, why, Indians naturally ask, should they not be trusted in the piping times of peace? Had they been only trained and allowed to serve, millions and millions would have sprung up by the side of England at her slightest call in this, the hour of her need. Indeed, no other nation of the world has such an inexhaustible source of strength as Great Britain has in the teeming masses of India; but India has been so maimed and crippled in her manhood that she can help neither herself nor Great Britain.

The idea is galling and humiliating that, if a time came when India was in danger, her own sons would not be able to save their hearts and homes, the honour and lives of their wives and children, but would have to look on foreign nations like Japan and Russia for help and succour. Peace and order are the first requisites of a settled Government, and without them there would be mere chaos; but unlimited and long-continued peace has a tendency to enervate and emasculate people. To make a living nation, higher qualities are required. A spirit which will not bow before any adverse wind, an internal strength which will brave every threatened danger, a capacity which will bear all toils and troubles, a determination which will flinch from no task, however impossible it may appear, a discipline which will love and be happy in the service of the country and the Empire. are qualities necessary for the attainment of that life which I call a full life. These moral forces can only come into play when people are free and unrestricted in the exercise of all their faculties. The profession of arms is perhaps one which breeds this spirit and brings out these potential forces more than any other. To close it to any portion of humanity is to turn them into lifeless machines.

In the Navy, we cannot rise above the rank of a Laskar.

Attempts are made to keep us out even of this lowly position. India has a vast sea-board, peopled by sea-faring nations. To refuse them their birthright is to waste so much good material which would have gone to increase the strength of the Empire. Why not have a few Indian dreadnoughts and cruisers manned by Indians and commanded by their own countrymen? It is said that the Indians are not fit for the Navy. Having not trained and tried them, it is not fair or just to say so. Try them first and, if found wanting, then you have a right to reject them. As yet Indians have never failed in offices of trust and responsibility where they have been tried. Open up new fields for them, put them in fresh positions and trust them; and I am sure that they will never be found wanting. The history of ancient India proves that the naval capacity is there; but it lies dormant for want of sufficient opportunity.

Now I pass on to the diplomatic service. Here we are conspicuous by our entire absence from it. What prevents the Government from utilizing the intellect, the ability and the energy of our people in this direction, I fail to understand. Why should not some of the numerous posts of political residents and agents of India be opened to them? Indians, if trained, are, in my opinion, and must, from the very fact that they are Indians, be in a better position than Englishmen to perform those duties which appertain to Indian diplomacy. Their intimate knowledge of the conditions of India and of the feelings and sentiments of the people must place them in a better position than the members of the Civil Service in negotiating those difficult and delicate matters which fall to the lot of diplomats. They must be in a better position to understand the different shades of views and opinions obtaining in the Native States and avoid giving any cause for unnecessary irritation and suspicion. The paths of diplomacy would be smoothed; and the difficulties which arise from ignorance of customs, manners and ways of thought would be avoided. Further afield, I see no reason why picked Indians should not be accredited to the courts of countries outside India, as ambassadors and plenipotentiaries, and why should the post of consuls be reserved for Europeans only? It is merely an unwillingness to allow Indians to share in the burden of the Empire prompted by mistrust and suspicion. And here, too, I am afraid, the great strength inherent in Islam, which counts nearly

100 million followers amongst His Majesty's subjects, has been thrown away, and not utilized in the political interests of the Empire. As a matter of fact, this strength has never even been realized, nor has it received that attention which it deserved from the politicians and statesmen of Europe.

Gentlemen, believe me that when I speak about these services, I have not in my mind the salaries and emoluments which such posts carry with them. To me, this is as nothing compared with the fact of our participation in the larger life of the Empire. My standpoint is that every possible source of strength should be organized and every particle of it should be brought into play in the service of our motherland and the Empire.

In India, the Civil Service is considered to be the premier public service of the country. Here, too, we are circumscribed and hedged in by rules and regulations which make it, if not altogether impossible, at least very difficult for us to enter. The examination which is the only possible way of entry for an Indian is held in London, several thousand miles away from his home. Those educated youths who cannot bear the cost and expenses of such a journey, are entirely debarred from it, however brilliant they may be. The fortunate few, who can afford to compete with Englishmen, have to do so in a language absolutely foreign to them. Why the examination should not be held both in England and in India to give the youths of both countries equal chances is an anomaly which passes my comprehension. For a number of years the country has been loudly demanding this much-delayed justice, but instead we get the recent Indian Civil Service Act, which has entirely abolished the competitive system. No doubt the operation of the Act is temporary, but a wrong precedent has been created, and no one knows to what further developments it will lead.

In the minor services of the country, such as police, forest, education, the higher places have been reserved for Europeans, and the children of the soil have been told that the doors have been shut against them. One would have expected that at least in these minor places Indians would not have failed, but all our protests and entreaties have been of no avail so far.

Poverty of the Masses

I pass on now to the economic development of the country. Let us see what progress we have made in this direction. Admittedly India is an agricultural country, and its real life and strength is in the teeming millions of humanity who live in the villages, principally by agriculture. Has anything really been done to raise them from their poverty-ridden and helpless condition? In spite of the jugglery of figures in which the hearts of statisticians delight, what is the state of the country and its peasantry? Statistics are supposed to prove every theory advanced by men anxious to prove their case; but our eyes are our best witnesses and cannot deceive us. India is a country rich in natural resources—resources which are not inferior to those of any other country in this wide, wide world. Her land bears every variety of crops from cotton and jute to wheat and mustard. Her mines produce every kind of metal from gold and iron ores down to the best coal, and not excluding numerous precious stones. She has a climate ranging from the bitterest cold to the intensest heat. Her rivers and forests are full of life and materials useful to man. In short, India is a self-contained, miniature world. In such a country what is the state of things for inhabitants? No toil or trouble is spared for the cultivation of their fields by the wretched and over-worked peasantry. All that manual labour can do is done, but because of the want of scientific methods and other causes beyond their control, the profits which ought to have been theirs are lost to them. Side by side with green, minutely and industriously cultivated fields, we find tiny and dilapidated mud hovels thatched with old and rotten straw. In these hovels there are neither windows nor floor cloths, and the only furniture that they boast of are a few earthen vessels and perhaps a chatai. Human beings and cattle herded together with no arrangements for sanitation. Such are the conditions in which the great majority of our people pass their miserable existence.

In commerce and industry we are no better off. Our old indigenous industries have been killed by foreign competition; and new attempts are crippled in the interests of other peoples than those of India. The instance of the cotton excise duties is before us—duties which have been imposed in the interests of Man-

chester and Lancashire. Before the war we were in the tentacles of the Teuton octopus, now we are in those of America and Japan. The Indian Government, with its vast and costly organization, has not been able to help India, but has allowed foreign countries to capture her trade and commerce and to dump their heavily subsidized goods in our markets. This was the psychological moment for helping our industries and commerce, but precious opportunities have been allowed to slip away from our hands.

Education

These are instances of questions from which we were rigidly excluded and upon which were not allowed to have our say. Now, I come to some of those questions where we raised our voice in protest, when measures affecting our well-being were carried into effect in the teeth of our severe opposition. Foremost of these was the question of education. Even here vain attempts are being made to cramp and confine the intellect. It is considered that the ideas of freedom and liberty derived from the literature of England have produced disquieting symptoms in the educated youths of the country, and English education must be officialized. But I fail to see how liberal ideas can be suppressed, unless English trade in books and newspapers is altogether stopped and the entire Indian press is forbidden to reprint European books and their translations. In fact, they will have to go further and ban all Oriental books of any liberal tendency, and, I am afraid, most of them are saturated with such tendencies. Indeed, I do not understand how we can manage it. unless we transform India, to use Lord Morley's phrase, "into an ignorant, illiterate and gagged India", obliterate its ancient civilization, wipe out the good work done by England, and make it of no use either to itself or to others. It is in the nature of education to rouse self-consciousness; and when people begin to compare their own conditions with those obtaining in other countries and discover their own backwardness, they naturally begin to try to better their condition. Education breeds a sense of patriotism and love for country, which are nowadays called by some people by a different and an opprobrious name. Instead of finding out the true causes of evils, a hasty and ill-considered remedy is applied which inevitably fails, as it is bound to fail. When Indian leaders saw the horrible state of illiteracy prevailing in India and the evil effects of it on the masses, they proposed the remedy of free and compulsory education. That great man, the late Mr. Gokhale, brought in a Bill, which in details was the most moderate measure: but the Government refused to accept it, and to this day the Anglo-Indian press misses no opportunity of misrepresenting its provisions. If the Bill had been accepted, India would have become literate not immediately and not at once, but in 40 years, and the people themselves would have borne the expenditure. The measure was so moderate that it was to be introduced in only those localities where a majority of the people consented to its introduction. One would have thought that the Government would have embraced this opportunity of doing a good turn to the people and gaining their affection and gratitude, but curious ideas prevailed and the Bill was rejected to the regret of the entire country.

Repressive Legislation

I now pass on to two of the recent repressive measures, the Press Act and the Defence of India Act. These Acts have worked harshly and told heavily upon the persons and properties of some leaders of our community. Musalmans are intensely agitated, and I should be grossly negligent in the discharge of my duties as the spokesman of Muslim India, if I failed to give voice to their feelings on the subject. On principle and by sentiment, I object to repression and coercion, be it from the Government or from any section of a disaffected people. Fear is the motive force in both cases. From the first dawn of human polity, there have been two methods of dealing with people. You can rule them through fear or rule them through love. It cannot be denied that coercion and terrorism, whether that of rulers or of rebels, do occasionally succeed. But its success is temporary; the reaction is terrible and follows swiftly. These short cuts to a solution of political difficulties, whether they be undertaken by the rulers or by their disaffected subjects, only end in disaster. Terrorism is a cul-de-sac leading nowhere, and sooner or later the terrorist must retrace his footsteps. The only lasting bond is that of love. The road is long, but never wearisome.

This is a time of great crisis in the life of the British Empire, and, therefore, there is all the more reason to subject the people of India to the compelling force of love, and not to the fleeting force of fear. Repression generally defeats its own purposes. To the terrorists among our own people, I can say with confidence that they can never hope to terrorize a powerful nation like the British. To the coercionist among our rulers, I can say with equal confidence that they can never hope to repress the rising hopes and aspirations of 315 million people. The policy of repression is an insult to God, Who surely could not have created one-fifth of humanity in His own image and yet made dumb driven cattle of them all. But it is no less an insult to the countrymen of Shakespeare and Milton to think that repression could ultimately and finally succeed in cowing down those whose only crime was that they fearlessly 'spake the tongue' that Shakespeare spoke and held 'the faith and morals' that Milton held.

I remember well, how and under what conditions the Press Act was passed. The members of the Imperial Council gave their consent to the passing of the Bill on the express understanding that the law was intended for the anarchists, and would never be applied in the case of peaceful citizens anxious to enlighten Government officers as to the sentiments and feelings of the people. But what is the result? All the independent Muslim papers have either been wiped out or are dragging on a lifeless and miserable existence. The Comrade is gone. The Hamdard has been strangled to death. The Muslim Gazette ceased to exist long ago. Al-Hilal is no more. The Zamindar is carrying on its colourless existence with a sword of Damocles always hanging over its head. Who ever thought that the Press Act would be applied in this fashion? Is it possible for the people not to resent such treatment, and are their feelings to be treated so lightly? Feelings and sentiments are not made to order, but they easily respond to kindness and sympathy.

Internment of Muslim Leaders

Under the Defence of India Act, Muslim leaders like Mohammad Ali, Zafar Ali and Shaukat Ali and some other Muslims have been deprived of their liberty and interned. Please do

not misunderstand me. It is my honest conviction that no Government in the world could, without betraying its trust, dispense with such protective legislation as might prove necessary in the difficult times we are now passing through. Every Government is bound to protect itself and the people over whom it rules by laws which save them from external and internal trouble. What I object to is the manner in which these laws have been worked to the injury of Muslim leaders of great influence and popularity. No reasons have been given for their internment and people are left to indulge in their own guesses and surmises. In my opinion the right procedure would have been to take the people into confidence, give them full, frank and straight-forward reasons for these extraordinary internments, and then have left the whole matter to the sanity of their judgment. Provided the reasons were sufficient and justifiable, I cannot conceive of the possibility of the vast majority of Muslims objecting to the Government action in spite of the great services of these gentlemen to the cause of Islam and India. But an opposite course, that of secrecy, resulting in irritation and excitement, was adopted. Musalmans feel that their leaders have been the victims of that unholy spy system which has wrought so much mischief and has created bad blood in the country. At this juncture, I can with justice say that no Indian community has had its loyalty put to a greater test during this war than the Muslims, and we have every cause to complain that Muslim loyalty has not been appreciated by the powers that be. Musalmans have given ample expression to their desire to remain peaceful and law-abiding members of the British Empire, and in deference to non-Muslim and official susceptibilities have left much unsaid to which they might with justice have given free expression. This self-restraint and self-abnegation deserved better treatment. The best way to create trust is to trust others, for mistrust begets nothing but mistrust. Knowing the feeling of the community on this point as I do, I think it is to their great credit that so little has been heard of public demonstrations. Their sense of responsibility prevented them from venting their feelings in public; Government should not remain under the false impression that the Musalmans of India approve of its actions. No, they do not; and if there be a real desire to soothe their ruffled feelings, it is high time that these leaders were restored to freedom at an early date.

Mr. Mohammad Ali, with that great and venerable leader, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk, now to our deep sorrow lying on a bed of sickness, was one of the principal founders of our League, and both are greatly missed in our Session to-day.

Protection of Religious Buildings

Another urgent demand of the country has been shelved, on the ground that it is of a controversial nature—I mean the measure for the safety of religious buildings. Our leader, the Hon'ble the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad, has told us that his attempts in this direction have not succeeded. Really, my mind fails to grasp who the people are who contest the measure, and on what grounds? Surely no opposition can possibly come from the Indians themselves. They are all united. Does it come from the officials? Our Indian religions have been protected by Parliamentary Statutes and Royal pledges, and no interference can be tolerated by any authority in matters religious. It is a profound pity that such golden opportunities for reconciling the people and gaining their affections are so lightly thrown away.

Men of Blood and Iron

Although I have criticized the Indian administration, I have also indicated the lines upon which reforms are urgently called for in the government of the country. If we are to be counted among living nations, these reforms must be achieved. To be a self-respecting nation and one respected by others is the aspiration of Indian people. But unfortunately, opposition comes from a certain number of officials who do not believe in Indians thinking for themselves. They tell us that, as we are properly governed, we need not trouble ourselves about the other good things of this world and must not clamour for them. Unfortunately amongst them there are men who belong to the party of 'powder and shot and no damn nonsense'. They do not recognize that Indians have any right. To them, any act of clemency or justice tempered by mercy is what they call 'killing by kindness'. They believe in administering the law with extreme rigour and showing no consideration for the feelings of the people. Even when a good, kind and statesman-like Viceroy like Lord Hardinge saves 14 human beings from the gallows, they raise their voice the loudest, and say that such an act of mercy must presage the downfall of the British Empire, as if English rule were based upon such insecure supports and unstable foundations. They do not realize that it is the personality of this great Englishman and his popularity amongst Indians, and not the repressive measures, that have largely contributed towards the solution of many vexed questions and have kept India peaceful and quiet. It is not possible to co-operate with such people, unless their frame of mind is altered. These are men of blood and iron and refuse to concede any little point in favour of Indians. They are too short-sighted to look into the future and safeguard the interests of the Empire. But fortunately the race of great statesmen has not become extinct in England. There are men who see far ahead and can read the future with a clearer sight.

The present dreadful world cataclysm has brought about new conditions; and mighty transformations are in progress. We are on the eve of eventful changes, and the East is moving towards its inevitable destiny; but no one knows what lies behind the loom of time. New ideas are springing up, and questions are being looked at from new points of view. A new bond has been cemented between the two races by the blood of our people on the battlefields of Europe, Asia and Africa. India has refrained from no sacrifices which were asked of her and which it was in her power to give. She could give much more and supply the needs of England out of her own resources, if she were freely developed. And mind, India has shed her blood and undergone sacrifices, not in the hope of favours to come, but of her own free will and accord. Surely, all this cannot go for nothing and must be taken into account and must influence the re-adjustment of the fabric of Empire about which we hear so much. Some say, whatever you may again, you cannot get self-government for India. They state that our country is not prepared for self-government, and the best form of rule that she can have in the present circumstances is benevolent despotism. True, but where to get the despot who would rule such a vast country with benevolence? What we find is that instead of one benevolent despot we have a number of despots who are anything but benevolent. No, gentlemen, the only form of government which is possible for India is that embodied in the Constitution of our

League, and that is self-government suitable to the needs and requirements of the country under the aegis of the British Crown. Then and then alone will India be contented and a camaraderie spring up between the two races which will cement the bonds of fellowship. Instead of a policy of mistrust and suspicion, we must have a policy of trust and confidence. Let there be no misunderstanding about these essentials in the government of the country.

Reconstruction

Gentlemen, our demands are neither immediate nor peremptory. We can wait and must wait till the end of the war. when the whole Empire will be reconstructed upon new lines: but there is no harm in postulating our demands now and informing the British people of the unity and the intensity with which the reforms are insisted upon. When the affairs of the Empire are taken into consideration, our views should be before the English nation. Of course, we cannot expect that India will change in the twinkling of an eye by some magical process, but we do hope that a new policy will be initiated which will end in self-government and give us the status and power of a living nation. The reforms must come steadily, but surely. Hope deferred maketh the heart sick, and delay deprives reforms of all their grace. If you ask me to give you indications of reforms which are immediately needed, I would say that the first step towards self-government must be taken by abolishing the packed official majority in the Imperial Council. We must have a sure and safe elected non-official majority, which would discuss and deal with all-India questions from the Indian standpoint. The late Lord Minto was quite right when he recommended this very reform which I am placing before you now. Next, we must free the Executive Council of the Viceroy from the incubus of the bureaucracy. Then fierce light would be thrown into the dark corners of Indian administration. We must have more Indians in the Executive Council, which is really the chief source from which policies emanate. In England members of the Cabinet are not drawn from the official classes, but from the non-official. Again, a great reform that is needed is what has been called 'Provincial Autonomy'. Provinces are now working within the

circumscribed limits allowed by Government of India. In domestic affairs and finance they should have fullest liberty of action. Local self-government should not be a mere sham, but based on real foundations as contemplated by the noble Viceroy, the Marquis of Ripon. The Arms Act must disappear from the Statute Book, and no limitation should be laid on the entry of Indians into any Public Service as I have clearly indicated in my speech. Volunteers should be enlisted freely from all classes. Agriculture must be improved and commerce and industry helped. Education will have to be free and compulsory. These are the points which come to my mind at present. I have not tried to be exhaustive, nor is it possible for me to be so. I have refrained from laying down any cut-and-dried scheme of self-government. I suggest that there should be unanimity on these questions amongst all the people of India, and I can conceive of no better agency than that of a joint deputation of the Congress and the League, which would place our demands before the British public and the British Government. Of course, before such a deputation is formed there must be a joint Conference of the trusted leaders of both these organizations in which a general agreement must be come to, and the interests of all safeguarded. Such an agreement should be placed before public meetings of the recognized political institutions of the different communities for confirmation. I have no doubt that such a representation would command a sympathetic hearing from the British nation.

A Cherished Desire of Muslims

Before I conclude, there is one other matter which is deeply felt by our community; and I know that it is the desire of a vast majority of Musalmans that I should speak on it. It is a rather delicate subject; but it is better that our feelings and sentiments should be expressed frankly, although with a proper sense of responsibility. It is a sore point with us that the Government of our Caliph should be at war with the Government of our King Emperor. We should all have been pleased to see our brethren-in-faith fighting side by side with the soldiers of the British Empire. Whatever view one may take of the policy adopted by Islamic countries in the present war, Indian Muslims never desired, nor ever can desire, hostility between British

and Islamic Governments. That the hostility should have come about is the greatest misfortune that could possibly have befallen Indian Muslims. But this the fates decreed. I have no desire to enter into details; but a vast majority of my co-religionists and, for the matter of that, numerous Englishmen, too, attribute it to the past foreign policy of Great Britain and to the failure of British diplomacy. However that may be, it is the cherished desire of the followers of Islam that when peace comes, and pray God that it will come soon, the Muslim countries should be dealt with in such a way that their dignity will not be compromised in the future. There are 400 million of Musalmans in the world, bound together in common brotherhood, whose feelings and sentiments should not be ignored in any settlement which may be arrived at. There is a living force and a great potential strength in this vast human brotherhood which, if properly realized, would be an immense asset.

Conclusion

Brethren, I have finished. I have said what I had to say without any reservation and without any arriere pensee. I have indicated the lines upon which our country should work and have abstained from going into details. My concluding words to you are: Have faith in our ownselves and trust in God above. With an undaunted heart and unflinching determination march forward towards that irresistible destiny which has been reserved for you in your Sacred Book. Halt not, falter not. Amen!

The following resolutions were put from the Chair and carried, the whoie assembly standing:

CONDOLENCE I (Nawab Salimullah)

The All-India Muslim League records with profound sorrow its deep sense of the loss that the Muslim community in particular and the country in general has sustained by the deaths of Nawab Sir Khawaja Salimullah Khan Bahadur of Dacca, Sir Adamji Peerbhoy, Maulana Khawaja Altaf Husain Hali, Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami and the Hon'ble Khawaja Ghulam-us-Saqalain and begs to convey its respectful condolence to the bereaved families.

CONDOLENCE II (GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE)

The All-India Muslim League records its great sense of loss at the deaths of the Hon'ble Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta, whose great and varied services in the cause of India shall ever live in the grateful recollections of every class and creed of the Indian people.

The League then adjourned till 2 p.m. on the following day.

Second Sitting December 31, 1915

The anxiety and fear entertained in various quarters regarding the Bombay Session of the All-India Muslim League were partly realized this afternoon when the League resumed its adjourned sitting to get through the brief programme before it, though what threatened to be a serious disturbance was averted by the tact, coolness and great presence of mind displayed on the occasion by the President and other distinguished leaders who were in attendance. By 2 p.m., the time appointed for the meeting, almost all the members of the League were in their seats, but the portion reserved for visitors was mostly unoccupied. About half an hour before the meeting, Mr. Edwardes, the Commissioner of Police, had sent a force of about 50 policemen armed with lathis who were kept in readiness in an enclosure just in front of the pandal; while half a dozen European police officers under Superintendent Walker were patrolling the grounds. Later, however, Mr. Edwardes, accompanied by his three Deputies, also arrived at the spot. The acting Chief Presidency Magistrafe, Rai Bahadur C. H. Setalvad, was seen in company of the Commissioner of Police at a later stage. Inside the pandal, several C.I.D. officers, both European and Indian, had taken seats as visitors by payment of fees. When the President stepped up to the dais, he was loudly cheered, and just then the visitors' seats which had been unoccupied were filled by a large number of men who came in a body.

The business before the meeting was very brief. The first resolution expressed the loyalty of the Musalmans and the second prayed for an extension of Lord Hardinge's Viceroyalty. The third related to the formation of a committee for drafting a

scheme of reforms. The agenda also contained a resolution urging communal representation on all self-governing public bodies. This seems to have found no favour with Mr. Hasrat Mohani, who had before the commencement of the proceeding, given notice of his intention to move an adjournment, for, as he said subsequently, according to the compromise arrived at in the presence of the Governor of Bombay, no other resolution, except that of loyalty and for the appointment of a committee on the question of self-government and a few on other formal matters, was to be brought forward.

The proceedings commenced with the President declaring that the first resolution of loyalty was to be moved from the Chair. Mr. Hasrat Mohani thereupon raised point of order, and said that his motion for adjournment must be discussed first. The President said, "Please sit down". The ruling of the Chair was obeyed. The President, in putting the resolution, remarked that he had said all that he had to say on this subject in his speech the day before, and asked if there was any dissent. There were cries of "No, no". The President thereupon declared the resolution passed. The second resolution about the extension of Lord Hardinge's Viceroyalty was also moved from the Chair, and carried by acclamation.

The two resolutions referred to above were as follows:

LOYALTY TO THE CROWN

The All-India Muslim League notes with deep satisfaction the steadfast loyalty of the Musalman Community to the British Crown during the present crisis through which the Empire is passing, and it assures the Government that the Government may continue to rely upon the loyal adhesion to and support of the Imperial cause by the Musalmans of India, and pray that this assurance may be conveyed to H.M. the King Emperor.

TRIBUTES TO VICEROY

The All-India Muslim League desires once more to place on record its deep and grateful appreciation of the great and valuable services rendered to India by His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge of Penshurt, during the past five years, and the feelings of regret with which it has received the intimation that

his terms of office is, as at present arranged, to cease in March next. The League, while recognizing the arduous character of the strain that had been placed on His Excellency during the past few years, under circumstances which have made his continuance in office an act of high sacrifice, venture, none the less, in view of the affection in which Lord Hardinge is held by the people of India, and the trust that they repose in him, and the important questions which will arise for consideration after the war, to urge upon His Majesty's Government the desirability of asking His Excellency to agree to a further extension of his Viceroyalty.

The President next called upon Mr. M. A. Jinnah to move the next resolution. Mr. Mohani said, "I rise to a point of order. My motion is for adjournment, and it must be discussed first." The President said: I have already informed you that your motion is out of order. (Cries of "Sit down. Do not dictate to the Chair").

At this stage, Maulvi Abdul Rauf Khan, Secretary of Anjumane-Zia-ul-Islam of Bombay, who was occupying a seat among the visitors, rose and shouted, demanding that Mr. Mohani should be allowed to speak. He said that the meeting was of Mohammedans and not of Hindus. Then followed some confusion, but peace was soon restored. The President appealed to the audience to believe that he was not acting in a despotic manner. He said that he firmly believed in the word of his God, and quoted a verse from the Quran. He asked them to put faith in His words if they were Mohammedans. At this another Mohammedan, from a visitor's seat, got up and said, "If you are a Mohammedan, you ought to appear like a Mohammedan. The Holy Quran asks you to dress like a Mohammedan. You must speak the Mohammedan tongue. You pose to be a Mohammedan leader, but you can never be a Mohammedan leader." Wild scenes of disorder then ensued, when a number of men began to shout and became rowdy.

In the midst of disorder and confusion, Abdussamad Khan, head of the Pathan community of Bombay, Maulvi Abdul Rauf and several other Mohammedans, followed by Sirdar Suleman Haji Qasim Mitha, C.I.E., who was in the beginning against the Muslim League holding its session at Bombay, but who subsequently was party to the compromise, rushed towards the dais

and began to speak vehemently. The Pathan leader said that he objected to the proceedings being conducted in any language but Urdu or Farsi. As the proceedings of the meeting affected the Mohammedans, he said that he wanted to follow what was being said there, and pointed out that besides himself many others present at the meeting did not know English. How were they to know that nothing against Mohammedan interests was being said, he asked. A voice from behind shouted that the President yesterday had spoken of a Hindu governor of Kabul. The Pathan leader was then called up to the dais by some Mohammedan leaders, and the President shook hands with him. They pacified him and assured him that the remainder of the business would be conducted in Urdu. These leaders succeeded in restoring order temporarily, and further decided to allow Mr. Hasrat Mohani to address the meeting.

Speaking in Urdu, Mr. Hasrat Mohani said that he belonged to no party, and that he did not want to say anything against the President. He urged that they have arrived at a compromise to pass only three resolutions, and that they ought ro adjourn after passing the self-government resolution. This was followed again by shouts, asking what guarantee there was that the same resolution, with the terms agreed upon at the compromise meeting, would be moved.

Mr. Qasim Mitha said that he could not yet understand why they had conducted the proceedings in English on the previous day. He reminded the audience that on first day they brought Congress leaders to the meeting and lustily cheered them, and said that they were transacting business in the name of the All-India Muslim League, but they were a Congress body.

Maulvi Abdul Rauf said that at all meetings the loyalty resolution was put first, and asked the reason for passing the two condolence resolutions on the first day.

The President assured every one that they would not alter the self-government resolution as drafted and settled at the compromise meeting even by one letter. At this, the same gentlemen who had taken objection to the dress and appearance of the President said that they could not rely on a Kafir Musalman who did not dress like a Mohammedan and keep his beard. Maulvi Abdul Rauf said that they had not come there to hear from the President that his word was God's word. Mr. Qasim

Mitha then became more excited and said that they were merging the League into the Congress, and were acting as dictated by the Congress leaders, that they had upset the object with which he and other Mohammedan leaders had established the League. They had sunk the League in darkness, he said, and were wiping it out of existence and were converting it into the Congress.

Tumultuous and wild scenes continued for some time, the dissentients blocking the passage and making it impossible for business to continue. The leaders on the dais preserved great coolness; and while the disturbance grew greater, they managed successfully to send all the ladies away in motor cars through the back entrance. Thinking it impossible to proceed with the business, the President after consulting the leaders, adjourned the meeting, remarking that it was his great misfortune that he had to adopt such a course; but he and all his Muslim friends believed that was the wisest course to take under the circumstances that then prevailed. The leaders retired to the President's room and stayed there nearly an hour until the rowdy element had dispersed. No further disturbance occurred, and the President was cheered when he left.

The question whether the Session would be continued, and if so when, where and under what restrictions, was decided immediately at an informal meeting convened at the residence of the President.

THIRD SITTING January 1, 1916, 10 a.m.

The All-India Muslim League resumed its sittings on Saturday at the Taj Mahal Hotel. Only members of the League and representatives of the press were admitted. This adjourned meeting will be recorded as an historic meeting in the annals of the political progress of the Muslim Community and the country. The very circumstances that brought about the adjournment of the second day's meeting, contributed in a great measure to make the conduct of this adjourned meeting a model of sobriety, dignity and determination. All were animated by the spirit of unshakeable unity. This was indeed a gathering of earnest men, resolved to discharge grave and responsible functions.

Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque, the President, opened the meeting by a speech in which he said before the members proceeded with the business of the day, he thought it was only right that he should make a few remarks as to the conditions under which they met there that day. He wished to emphasize that the attendance at the Annual Session of the League was confined principally to members of the League, and at that day's meeting nobody else but members of the League would be allowed there, members of the press being excepted. He reminded them that since the League had been started, it was their custom to admit other members of the public merely as a matter of courtesy, otherwise they had no right to attend the meeting, much less to vote. At the first day's sitting of the League they admitted them only as a matter of such courtesy and also because the League was conducting a sort of educative propaganda for the good of the country. He remarked that that was the first occasion in the life of the League that some rather undesirable incidents had occurred. When at the second day's meeting men came determined, as far as he could see, not to proceed in a constitutional manner, but to create a disturbance, he had to adjourn the meeting. Of course, they could not use force, and the only possible thing to do, therefore, under circumstances, was to disperse like gentlemen. Islam enjoined dignity, and anything undignified was against the Mohammedan religion. He said that at the meeting on the second day, he had appealed to the people as gentlemen and in the name of God. He had quoted verses from the Holy Quran. But the word of God was not listened to. Any opposition ought to have collapsed immediately on his quoting the sacred verses. But they would not listen and his appeal was infructuous, as they were prepared to create a disturbance. They did not resume their sittings in the pandal, because there might be a repetition of the undesirable incidents of the day before. Continuing, he said that he personally refused to take any outside help to quell the disturbance on the second day; but his friends of Bombay thought it would be well to speak to the authorities on the matter. His friend, Mr. Jinnah (cheers), went to the authorities and spoke to them, but the help he asked for was denied him (loud cries of Shame). He concluded by expressing the hope that they would conduct the proceedings that day with the dignity which Islam enjoined upon

them, and he called upon Mr. Jinnah to address the assembly. Mr. M.A. Jinnah, who was received with loud cheers, then addressed the assembly. He said that they all knew the incidents which took place on December 31, 1915, in the pandal at Marine Lines. After consulting his friends, he thought the proper course for him was to go and see the Commissioner of Police, who was standing outside the pandal. He went to the Commissioner of Police and told that the meeting of the All-India Muslim League had to be adjourned. He also informed him that it was the desire of most of the members of the League that the meeting should continue its deliberations in the pandal, and that under the Constitution of the League nobody but members were entitled to come into the pandal, and certainly none but members could take part in the deliberations. He further told him that they had admitted the public only out of courtesy and by ticket. In view of what had taken place, it was their desire to exclude the public entirely from the meeting, and to confine their proceedings to members of the League only. He asked the Commissioner to help him to carry out their desire. Members of the public who had come to the pandal on payment of a fee would be refunded the money they had paid, and he had already ordered his men to refund the money instantly. Under the circumstances, he asked the Commissioner of Police to clear the public from the ground of the pandal, and to keep a certain number of policemen outside, to prevent any member of the public from forcing himself into the pandal. But the Commissioner refused to do so (cries of Shame), and said if Mr. M.A. Jinnah apprehended any disturbance he (the Commissioner) was prepared to take charge of the pandal and clear it of every one. He (Mr. Jinnah) came back and told the President and others what had happened, and after that it was decided informally that the matter would be considered further. An informal meeting subsequently took place at the bungalow of the President, when all the leading members of the League were present. It was decided to hold the adjourned meeting of the League at the Tai Mahal Hotel, and to admit only members and nobody else.

Mr. A. Rasul said that he had also been present, and heard the Commissioner say that in his opinion the meeting should not be held in the *pandal* at all. Mr. Jinnah corroborated the statement.

The President then called upon Mr. M. A. Jinnah to move the following resolution:

COMMITTEE ON REFORM SCHEME

The All-India Muslim League resolves that a committee consisting of the following gentlemen* be appointed to formulate and frame a scheme of reforms, and that the said Committee is authorized to confer with political and other organizations or committees if any, appointed by such organizations as they may deem fit, provided always that due regard is paid to the needs and interests of the Musalmans of India in the formation of the aforesaid scheme of reforms.

The Committee shall submit its report and scheme to the Council of the All-India Muslim League to be presented to the League at its next Annual Session.

Mr. Jinnah said that in view of the present situation, when questions of the readjustment and reconstruction of the Government of India would soon be taken up, it was desirable that a committee consisting of responsible leaders of the Mohammedans should be appointed to formulate a scheme of reforms. He did not want to go into details, and would content himself by saying that the object of the resolution was to formulate a scheme of reforms. As to the second part of this resolution, it empowered this Committee, whilst formulating a scheme of reforms, to confer with other political organizations of the country, such as the Indian National Congress. The Congress and the League were the two chief representative political organizations of India; and the Committee of the League should, without the slightest prejudice to Mohammedan interests and with due regard to Mohammedan needs, formulate a scheme of reforms, and do it as far as possible in conformity with the scheme to be formulated by the Indian National Congress. After the scheme had been formulated by the League and the Congress, they could go to the authorities and say these were the reforms which they demanded in the name of United India (Loud applause).

^{*}Listed on pp. 526-528

Mr. Wazir Hasan then read out the list of the names of proposed members of the Committee, and several names suggested by those present were added to it. The names of the members are given below:

United Provinces of Agra and Oudh

- 1. Raja Sir Mohammad Ali Mohammad Khan Bahadur, K.C.I.E. of Mahmudabad, (President).
- 2. Maulvi Abdul Majid, C.I.E., Bar-at-Law, Allahabad.
- 3. Syed Nabi-ul-lah, Bar-at-Law, Lucknow.
- 4. Khan Bahadur Syed Alay Nabi, B.A., LL.B., Agra.
- 5. Syed Raza Ali, Moradabad.
- 6. Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, Bar-at-Law, Aligarh.
- 7. Shaikh Shahid Husain, Bar-at-Law, Lucknow.
- 8. Dr. Nazir-ud-Din Hasan, M.A., LL.B., Bar-at-Law, Lucknow.
- 9. Mr. M. A. Khwaja, Bar-at-Law, Aligarh.
- 10. Munshi Azhar Ali, Vakil, Lucknow.
- 11. Mr. Zahur Ahmad, Bar at-Law, Allahabad.
- 12. Mirza Sami-ul·lah Beg, Advocate, Lucknow.
- 13. Munshi Sakhawat Ali, Lucknow.
- 14. Syed Zahur Ahmad, Vakil, Lucknow.
- 15. Syed Wazir Hasan, Advocate, Lucknow (Honorary Secretary).

Punjab

- 1. Nawab Zulfiqar Ali Khan, C.S.I., Lahore.
- 2. Khan Bahadur Mian Mohammad Shafi, Lahore.
- 3. Syed Mohsin Shah, Pleader, Lahore.
- 4. Mr. Barkat Ali, Editor, Observer, Lahore.
- 5. Mr. Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din, Pleader, Kasur.
- 6. Mr. Fazle Husain, Bar-at-Law, Lahore.
- 7. Khan Bahadur Shaikh Ghulam Sadiq, Amritsar.
- 8. Chaudhri Shahab-ud-Din, Vakil, Lahore.
- 9. Babu Nizam-ud-Din, Amritsar.
- 10. Maulvi Zafar Ali Khan, Lahore.

Bengal

- 1. Nawab Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhri, Dacca.
- 2. Mr. Mohammad Ismail, Barisal.
- 3. Mr. Mujib-ur-Rahman, Editor, The Musalman, Calcutta.
- 4. Mr. M. A. Rasul, Bar-at-Law, Calcutta.
- 5. Nawab Nasir Husain Khan, Khial, Calcutta.
- 6. Mr. A. K. Fazal-ul-Haq, Calcutta.
- 7. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Editor, Al-Hilal, Calcutta.
- 8. Maulvi Mohammad Akram Khan, Calcutta.
- 9. Maulvi Najm-ud-Din Ahmad, Calcutta.
- 10. Chaudhri Ali-uz-Zaman, Landlord, Belgachi, District Faridpore.
- 11. Mr. Abul Qasim, Bardwan.

Bombay and Sindh

- 1. His Highness the Aga Khan.
- 2. Sir Ibrahim Rahmat-ul-lah, Kt., Bombay.
- 3. Mr. Abdul Husain Adamjee Peerbhoy, Bombay.
- 4. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Bar-at-Law, Bombay.
- 5. Mr. Bhurgari, Bar-at-Law, Hyderabad (Sindh).
- 6. Mr. Faiz B. Tyabji, Bar-at-Law, Bombay.
- 7. The Hon'ble Mr. Ghulam Husain, Hyderabad (Sindh).
- 8. Nawab Ghulam Jilani Khan of Vai District, Satara.
- 9. Mian Mohammad Haji Jan Mohammad Chotani, Bombay.
- 10. Mr. Mohammad Hafiz, Bar-at-Law, Hyderabad (Sindh).
- 11. Mr. Ghulam Ali Chagla, Hyderabad (Sindh).
- 12. Mr. Omar Subhani, Bombay.
- 13. Mr. Sheriff D. Kanji, Bombay.
- 14. Mr. A. M. Jiwanji, Bombay.
- 15. Mirza Ali Mohammad, M. A., Solicitor, Bombay.

M adras

- 1. M. Yaqub Hasan Seth, Madras.
- 2. The Hon'ble Nawab Syed Mohammad Sahib, Madras.
- 3. Nawab Ghulam Ahmad Sahib, Kalami, Mysore State.
- 4. Khan Bahadur Walji Lalji Sahib, Madras.

Bihar and Orissa

- 1. Sir Syed Ali Imam, K.C.S.I., Bar-at-Law, Bankipore.
- 2. Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque, Bar-at-Law, Bankipore.
- 3. Mr. Wasi Ahmad, Bar-at-Law, Bankipore.
- 4. Maulvi Fakhr-ud-Din Khan Bahadur, Bankipore.
- 5. Nawab Sarfraz Husain Khan, Khan Bahadur, Patna.
- 6. Maulvi Ahmad Husain, Vakil, Mozaffarpore.
- 7. Maulvi Akhtar Husain, Vakil, Mozaffarpore.
- 8. Dr. Syed Mahmud, Bar-at-Law, Bankipore.
- 9. Syed Mohammad Naim, Bar-at-Law, Bhagalpore.

Central Provinces

1. Khan Bahadur H. M. Malak, Nagpore.

Burma

- 1. Haji Mohammad Abdul Shakur Jamal, C.I.E., Rangoon.
- 2. Haji Ahmad Mulla Daud, Rangoon.

Delhi

- 1. Dr. M. A. Ansari, Delhi.
- 2. Mr. Mohammad Ali (Chindwara, C.P.).
- 3. Haziq-ul-Mulk Hakim Mohammad Ajmal Khan, Delhi.

North-West Frontier Province

Mr. Abdul Aziz, Bar-at-Law, Peshawar.

Mr. Fazl-ul-Haque, seconding the resolution, said whatever difficulties there had been in their path had disappeared during the last few hours, and with the new year would be ushered in a new era in the history of the progress of the Mohammedan Community. If he had any lingering doubt that had been dispelled by the incidents of the day before. He had great pleasure in seconding the appointment of the Committee, because the

men who were to formulate a scheme of reforms should be men chosen, as these men were, not only for their political foresight, but also for the courage of their convictions. Because they had to confer with other committees, it should not be said that questions of popularity or other considerations prevented them from saying what was in the best interest of the community. The National Congress and the Muslim League between them represented the views of united India.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad seconded the resolution.

Mr.A. Rasul, supporting the resolution, said he was glad that resolution was to be passed by the Muslim League; but self government meant self-help, and he was glad his co-religionists had learnt that lesson at last.

Mr. Ghulam Husain, Nawab Ghulam Mohammad Kalami, and Mr. Jafar Lalji further supported the resolution.

Mr. Hasrat Mohani rose to move what he called a 'verbal amendment', adding the words "a scheme of self-government and steps leading to self-government" instead of the words "a scheme of reforms". He said they had been talking for the last thirty years of reforms and it was time they talked of self-government.

Babu Nizam-ud-Din moved another amendment asking the Committee to frame a scheme of reforms "keeping in view the objects of the League".

Mr. Abbas Ali supported the amendment.

Mr. Jinnah asked the two gentlemen not to press the amendments.

Both the amendments were then withdrawn, Mr. Hasrat Mohani declaring that he had only moved his to assert his right of moving an amendment (loud laughter).

The President said he was very pleased at the withdrawal of the amendments. There was no split in the League. It showed the true Islamic spirit (cheers). They were not going to move one iota away from it. They were all honourable men (cheers).

The resolution moved by Mr. Jinnah was carried unanimously.

COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION

Syed Alay Nabi moved the following resolution:

The All-India Muslim League, once again, records its deliberate opinion that in the interests of the Musalman Community, it is absolutely necessary that the principle of communal representation be extended to all self-governing public bodies, and respectfully urges that provision for the adequate and effective representation of Musalmans on municipal and district boards is a necessary corollary of the application of the principle to the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils, and at the same time, considers it essential to the successful working of those public bodies.

Syed Alay Nabi said that the principle of communal representation, the Mohammedans believed, was a necessary factor in their national development. It was an anomally and an irony of fate that, while the principle of communal representation was recognized in regard to the Legislative Council, it had been ignored with regard to local bodies. The Mohammedans did not want to pass this resolution in a spirit of racial or religious animosity, but only with a view to be able to march forward with other communities to their final goal.

Mr. Yaqub Husain Seth, seconding the resolution, said that there was no question more misunderstood than this, but now that the atmosphere of mutual distrust had cleared away, there was a greater chance of their case being given an attentive hearing. As their Hindu brethren now viewed this question from a different angle of vision than before, the Mohammedans should reciprocate. The Mohammedans should ask that instead of having Government nominees who were not always of a desirable type, the Mohammedans should be allowed to elect their representatives. Local self-government was a mockery and a farce under the present circumstances. Harmony between the two great communities of India could be better secured by having separate channels of election, for then there would be no rivalry for the common seats.

Mr. Mohsin Shah, supported the resolution. He said that wherever their principle of communal representation was recognized, a better spirit prevailed. If Mohammedans insisted on separate representation, it was only because they desired that their relations with Hindus should be better still.

Mr. Hasrat Mohani opposed this resolution. He said that

in the first instance it was a superfluous resolution. Secondly, in view of the fact that the committees of the League and the Congress were to meet, this resolution might do harm and might prove a stumbling block to those committees in their consideration of the question of reforms on higher grounds. Besides, according to the compromise, no other resolution than those they had already passed were to be brought forward.

Mr. Jinnah explained the circumstances under which the compromise meeting was held under the presidency of H.E. Lord Wellington. Certain points were discussed, and an agreement was arrived at between the two parties in Bombay. Not everything was discussed, but eventually some points were agreed upon, and then he drew the attention of the Governor to the fact that there was a very strong opinion and feeling among the Mohammedans about the question of communal representation. He (Mr. Jinnah) personally had not agreed with the overwhelming majority of his co-religionists in the matter, but liberty should be preserved to discuss the question. So far as the terms of the agreement were concerned, they were not going against them at all.

Mr. A. M. Khwaja moved an amendment deferring the consideration of his question until the Committee appointed by the League and the Congress had deliberated together. At the same time, he thought that they should not let the Mohammedan public think that this meeting was opposed to separate representation. There were others who believed that separate representation was simply a toy (sic).

Mr. Abbas Ali supported the amendment.

Mr. Hamid Hasan thought that they would be doing a great disservice to the community by dropping this resolution. An apprehension prevailed among some in this city, and the rest of the country, that the League was trying to surrender to the Congress (cries of "No, no"). He admitted the apprehension was untrue, but they would be encouraging that belief by dropping the resolution. In any scheme of reforms, the principle of communal representation should be the sheet-anchor of their policy.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah said that if they insisted on putting the amendments to the vote, the voting would, according to the Constitution, be by Provinces, and it would be a tedious

process. The amendments were sure to be lost, and he therefore requested the movers to withdraw them.

The amendments were withdrawn.

The President then put the resolution to the vote, and declared it carried by a majority.

Syed Alay Nabi said the resolution should be declared as having been carried by an overwhelming majority.

It was eventually declared carried by a large majority.

ELECTIONS

Sir Ibrahim Rahmat-ul-lah moved that the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad be elected President of the Muslim League (loud cheers). Since H.H. the Aga Khan had resigned this position, they had had no President for two years because it was only at their annual sessions that they could elect their President, and last year there had been no session of the League. He thought that their rules should be so amended that they might not be without a President in the future. Some years ago, when he read the names of prominent members of the League and he came across the name of the Hon'ble Raja Sahib, he had come to a hasty conclusion that probably the Raja Sahib was one of those Nawabs of the old school, with plenty of money, either their own or borrowed (laughter), involved in an atmosphere of pleasure, surrounded by sycophants and flatterers. But about three years ago, when he came to know the Raja personally, he was completely disillusioned. The speaker had a genuine feeling of admiration for the Hon'ble Raja Sahib, for his independence of character, his great gifts and his sterling worth, his great love for the country, and his desire to serve it. He said this out of all sincerity and not merely with a view to paying an empty compliment.

Mr. Nabi-ul-lah seconded the resolution, which was supported by Mr. Sheriff Devji Kanji and others. It was carried unanimously amid loud and prolonged cheering.

Mr. Wasi Ahmad of Bankipore then moved the re-election of Mr. Wazir Hasan as Honorary Secretary of the League. He said that had it not been for Mr. Wazir Hasan and three prominent citizens of Bombay, Sir Ibrahim Rahmat-ul-lah, Mr. M.A. Jinnah and Mr. Abdul Husain Adamjee Peerbhoy (loud

cheers), who assisted him, the League could not have held its session in Bombay.

Mr. A.M. Khwaja seconded the resolution, which, also supported by Mr. Abdul Hamid Hasan, Mr. Mohsin Shah and others, was carried by acclamation.

Mr. Wazir Hasan briefly replied, and said that it was an honour of which he would be proud for ever.

On the motion of Syed Wazir Hasan, seconded by Mr. Sami-ul-lah Beg, Haji Musa Khan and Mr. Azhar Ali were reelected Honorary Joint Secretaries of All-India Muslim League.

On the motion of Syed Wazir Hasan, seconded by Mr. Azhar Ali, Mr. Ihtisham Ali and Mr. Nabi-ul-lah were re-elected Vice-Presidents of the All-India Muslim League.

OTHER BUSINESS

Maulvi Abdul Wadud then wanted to move certain resolutions. The President said he had just handed him a couple of resolutions. They were out of order because, under the rules, previous notice should have been given to the Secretary about them. He would, however, put it to the house to say whether the resolutions should be allowed to be moved or not.

Mr. Jinnah said that the President did not want to be despotic. He could, with justice, have said that the resolutions were out in order as no notice had been given. He, however, put it to the meeting to say whether they should be allowed to be placed before the meeting. It was a serious matter and he wanted them to rise to the occasion.

Mr. Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad said that they should adhere to the compromise and not allow any other resolutions.

The President then put the question to the meeting, and there were loud cries of "No" against the resolutions being put. The President declared that the sense was against the resolutions being put.

Mr. Hasrat Mohani: This is exactly what I wanted.

Mr. Faiz B. Tyabji moved a vote of thanks to the Chair. He said that no words were necessary to commend this proposition to their acceptance, as they had all seen how ably Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque had conducted the business of the League (cheers).

Mr. Mirza Ali Mohammad, seconding the resolution, said that this was no mere formal vote of thanks. It was their President's tact and heroic conduct that had saved the situation. which might easily have been disastrous. Was there anybody here, or anywhere in the city of Bombay, or in the whole country, who claimed to be an educated person, who could say that they were not stronger that day than they had been the day before ("Hear, Hear!"). And they owed that result to the tact and ability of their President (loud applause). At the time of that unfortunate incident, there were only two courses open to them, the first was rejection and the second adjournment. And they all agreed that the wiser of the two was the course they eventually took. They hoped to be stronger and more united in the future. Even if they had not been able to meet, they would have risen phoenix-like from their ashes, having got rid of the undesirable exigencies of the past few years (loud cheers).

The resolution was carried amid loud cheering.

Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque in reply said that the day before yesterday he had considered that as the proudest day of his life, but he now found that he was mistaken. For, this day was the proudest day of his life (loud applause). They had risen Phoenix-like from the ashes. Opposition stiffened them; with the result that they were much stronger now than before. He thought that he would fail in his duty, if he did not refer to the great work done for the League by his friend Mr. Jinnah (loud and continued applause). The entire Mohammedan community of India owed him a deep debt of gratitude, for without his exertions they could not have met in Bombay. The President knew what Mr. Jinnah had undergone in this matter. Turning to Mr. Jinnah, the President said, "Mr. Jinnah, we the Musalmans of India thank you" (loud cheers).

Continuing, the President thanked the members of the Reception Committee. He could not describe the hearty character of the reception they had given him. He had been so well treated by his co-religionists of Bombay that he would never forget it. There might be a few people who had their own axes to grind, but the heart of Mohammedan Bombay was with the League (loud applause). He also praised the work of the volunteers who had performed their duties right royally. Referring to the presence of the Congress volunteers at the railway station

and the meetings of the League, the President said this was the first time in his long public life that he had seen the volunteers of the two great bodies working together, and he hoped the work of the volunteers would be carried on on the same principle in the future. It was no use fighting for small things, and they had got to realize it. The Mohammedans, Hindus, Parsis, and all the other communities of India should work hand in hand. He did not see any Congress volunteers at the meeting, and he asked the League volunteers to kindly inform the former that the Mohammedans were grateful to them. He again thanked the assembly, and hoped that the next time they came to Bombay they would have only one party there.

In conclusion, he said their best thanks were due to Mr. Abdul Husain Adamjee Peerbhoy and the other sons of Sir Adamjee Peerbhoy for the magnificent reception they had given to the members of the League and the Congress delegates on Friday night, and thanks were also due to Mr. Abdul Husain for the trouble he had taken as the Chairman of the Reception Committee (loud cheers).

The meeting then dispersed.1

^{1.} Proceedings of the Annual Sessions of the All-India Muslim League held at Bombay on 30th, 31st December, 1915, and 1st January, 1916, Compiled by the Hon. Syed Wazir Hasan, Advocate, Honorary Secretary, Ali-India Muslim League, Lucknow, 1916.

Chapter 17

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

NINTH SESSION

Lucknow, December 30-31, 1916

ADDRESS OF MR. NABI-UL-LAH Chairman of the Reception Committee

It is my proud and happy privilege to offer you on behalf of the Musalmans of Lucknow, a most cordial welcome to this historic city. Many of you have travelled long distances at considerable personal discomfort to take part in this great and representative assembly of your community. I need not say how valuable an asset in our public life is the sense of public duty that scorns distances and grudges no sacrifice of money and time that is demanded of our public men in the service of communal causes. The presence here today of so many distinguished Musalmans from every part of the country, great leaders of thought and opinion, men who in their respective spheres have contributed to the growth and success of all modern movements for the regeneration of their people, some of whom are, indeed, the architects of the fortune of Islam in India—the presence of such public workers in this great gathering is the surest pledge we could have that our deliberations at this eventful stage in the history of India will be fruitful and conducive to the ultimate welfare of our community.

Gentlemen, to the modern eye, the place where we are holding this annual session of the All-India Muslim League must seem to be singularly barren of interest. Lucknow is not a modern city, alive with the hum and bustle that are characteristic of a roaring trade centre or a busy hive of industry. It has none of the push and go of Bombay, none of the intellectual energy and up-to-datism of Calcutta, none of the unconventional, aggressive ways of towns of humbler origin and lesser dignity, but

not less pretentiousness, where the spirit of modernity has found a dwelling and reared its dominant symbol in the shape of smoking chimneys of factory and mill.

Lucknow is still wedded to its old ways of life and seeks its intellectual and spiritual nourishment in visions of the past. Please do not be led away by the vast green spaces and the trim beauty of its parks into imagining that such bribes can induce it to emerge from its populous and wonderous dreamland. The city 'improvements' which are the costly fruits of the garrulous reforming zeal of the city fathers, with their geometrical precision and their passion for right angles and straight lines, have scared old Lucknow and driven it to cling still more tenaciously to itself. It is living its life serenely and with a vengeance in strongholds where no town planning reformer or sanitary inconoclast can hope to penetrate, in an environment which retains its old-world features in unimpaired outline and which the Cook's tourist on a brief holiday in the East loves to describe as 'picturesque'. Well, gentlemen, we are old-fashioned and 'picturesque' people, living picturesque lives and luxuriating in picturesque fancies, and though we have little to offer you by way of suggestion or stimulous in your quest for things that are progressive and up-to-date, we can at least furnish a rich and dainty feast to your sense of the archaic. If those of you who have come from far busier and more animated scenes of present-day enthusiasms and endeavours, carry back the persuasion that all that is past is not dead, and that the poet who still sings of gul and bulbul, or the elaborate-mannered gentlemen to whom social life is one long scheme for receiving and imparting pleasant sensations, are but the expiring spirits of an ampler and more leisured conception of life that may well bring a breath of fresh air to the pent up and high-pressure intensity of modern existence—if you can take this persuasion back with you, even our easy-going conservatisms and polite inanities would not have been altogether in vain.

Lucknow was once famous for its hospitality. Times have, however, changed, and what was once a power and a joy in its social life, remains as a mere pious aspiration. If our distinguished guests find anything lacking in our efforts to make their stay among us comfortable and pleasant, I would beg them to overlook our undoubted shortcomings and take the will for the

deed. Of one thing, however, I wish to speak with frank assurance. Lucknow has been disinherited of many of its priceless gifts, but still retains its dowry of good manners. Happen what may, it would never permit that unspeakable outrage on its sense of hospitality, which a few hooligans organized last year at the instigation of the enemies of Islam in Bombay. How and why that outrage came to be perpetrated and what were its instruments are now matters of common knowledge. Need I say, that the whole of Muslim India was filled with deep indignation at that shameful incident. Its only result was to increase still further the determination of the Musalmans to tread the path of duty fearlessly and with unfaltering steps, undeterred and uninfluenced by the intrigues of reactionary cliques and vested interests, or the vulgar escapades of their hirelings.

The War

From these somewhat personal explanations due from the host to the guest, I now, with your permission, pass on to matters of general public concern which will no doubt engage your undivided attention at the sittings of the League. The first thing that must naturally strike anyone interested in public affairs is the abnormally grave character of the circumstances in which we meet to-day. The greatest war in history, which began more than two years ago, is still going on with unabated fury of destruction and carnage, and no one can as yet set limits to its duration. I need not set about to detail the causes that have brought about this unparalleled catastrophe in the affairs of the world. They are well-known to you all. It is enough for us to realize that our King Emperor and his allies are fighting for the complete vindication of international right and justice, that it is a life-and-death struggle for the British Empire, and that all the resources of this vast Empire, in men, money and material will have to be mobilized and thrown into the fight, if the stubborn, determined and resourceful enemy is to be completely and finally crushed. In this gigantic task, the whole of the Empire. of which India forms a part, is absolutely of one mind and one resolution. There can at this stage be no turning back from the stern path of duty, no temporizing and no contentment with half-measures. The arch-enemy of human peace and civilization.

the evil spirit that flourishes the mailed fist and has raised militarism to the dignity of a high spiritual cult, must not simply be scotched but killed outright. For this purpose, all parts of the Empire are firmly united and are prepared for all manner of effort and sacrifice that they may be called upon to bear. India stands no less firm than Canada, New Zealand, Australia, South Africa or even the British Isles. At the outbreak of the war, she pledged, of her own free will, all the help that she could give in the successful prosecution of the struggle. She has been redeeming that pledge in no niggardly spirit. Her soldiers have borne their full share of the fight for the safety and honour of the Empire on the battlefields of Europe, Asia and Africa; and had not the invidious bars of colour and race stood in the way, millions of her sons would have sprung forth joyously at the first call to arms and rallied under the banner of the Empire. The contributions of her princes and people in money and material have been free and generous. And let me assure the representatives of our King Emperor in India that they can count in full confidence on steadfast Indian devotion and support to the Imperial cause till it is triumphantly vindicated on the field of battle.

Through the supreme and searching test of this war, the loyalty of India has emerged untarnished and proved to be one of the greatest and most precious assets of the Empire. I need not dwell on the character and quality of its widespread manifestation. It has shown itself in a variety of ways and through acts and deeds in which all classes of His Majesty's Indian subjects have shared with equal enthusiasm. In such an atmosphere it may be a piece of irrelevance to talk of Muslim loyalty. However, in this great Muslim assembly, it may not be wholly out of place to note, with deep satisfaction, the unswerving fidelity with which the Musalmans have borne their part of the Imperial burden. The sense of this satisfaction is immeasurably enhanced when it is borne in mind that Muslim soldiers have cheerfully gone into the fight against the forces of their Caliph in defence of the cause of the Empire to which their destinies are linked.

India and the Peace to Come

At a time when all efforts and energies are concentrated on the conduct of the war, it is natural that all schemes of normal and peaceful development and advance should be held in abeyance. At the beginning of the war, a sort of political truce was declared in India, and the voice of controversy has since been hushed. All public activities have been suspended that could even remotely have the effect of distracting the mind of the Government in its task of organizing victory. Even some of the most urgent needs of the country have been allowed to wait till peace comes to restore to the affairs of mankind their true proportion and balance. This does not, however, mean that we are to remain in a state of suspended animation while the hammerblows of fate are fashioning the framework of a new and we trust a better and a freer world. The organization of peace after the war is, in the opinion of most thinking men, a more complex and anxious problem than the winning of the war itself. In Great Britain and the countries of her Allies no less than among the people of the Central Alliance, strenuous thought and energies are being applied to the discovery of stable foundations for a new political, economic and social order. Is India alone to stand still and take no thought for the morrow, when that morrow is to usher in a new era in the history of the world and the nations, saved from the perils of militarism, are to undertake the replanning of their lives with the freedom and joy of a new resurrection? The war is not to last forever. I would not be surprised if 1917 brings the end definitely in sight. Are we to wake up one fine morning, when the peace has been signed, to collect our scattered thoughts hastily together and start a wild, academic discussion about the future of our country? The Indian public man who has grasped the psychology of the existing conditions, and yet helps to waste, through a policy of masterly inactivity, the all too brief interlude for planning and preparation, is a traitor to the cause of India.

Substantial changes in the administration and governance of India have become inevitable, and it is the duty of the intellectual and political leaders of the Indian people to participate actively in the evolution of the new order of things and determine what those changes should be. If solemn public declara-

tions count for anything, we may take it that the British nation and responsible British statesmen have discovered the true heart of India in this great crisis of their history. The scales of ignorance and prejudice have fallen from their eyes, and in the stress of common sacrifice and common emotion there has come to birth in England a genuine movement of sympathy for the aspiration of our people. Early in the war we were definitely assured by an Under Secretary of State for India that 'a new angle of vision' would henceforth be applied to Indian affairs. As a recognition of the need by a responsible British Minister to broaden the basis of Indian governance, nothing could be more explicit. It must, however, be remembered that 'a new angle of vision' cannot be picked out at will from a textbook on political science. It is an intellectual process, an adjustment of policy and principle to new aspects of a case. In the case of India, it will be a mere empty phrase, if it does not mean the introduction of a policy of trust, of allowing Indian opinion steadily and increasingly to assume the ultimate control and direction of the affairs of the country.

The Need for Unity and Patriotism

Now, with this broadening of the intellectual horizon of India's responsible rulers and with the goal clearly set before our eyes, it now rests with the Indian people themselves to take heart of grace, close their ranks and shrink from no effort and sacrifice that may be needed to bring the coveted prize within their grasp. Gentlemen, with all the sympathy and goodwill that may come to us from quarters where a short time ago we used to meet with indifference and cold reserve, the path that lies before us is neither easy nor smooth. The temper of 'the man on the spot' in India is yet an incalculable factor in the situation. And you are well aware how formidable 'the man on the spot' is and what tremendous weapons he can employ, if it is his whim and pleasure to thwart the will of the people. Then, there are other forces, representing interests of alien origin, and frequently hostile to the needs of Indian nationalism, which we have to take into full account. These forces are controlled by a section of the Anglo-Indian press, and all of us know how easily they can be set in motion against the forces of Indian progress.

These and a host of other difficulties we have to overcome, and you can well imagine what patience, cool-headedness, clear thinking, organisation of will and effort—above all, that sustained inspiration for public which patriotism and unity alone can give—are needed if these difficulties are to be effectually removed before India attains to its ideal of a self-governing nation. But unity and patriotism are the sovereign remedies for the ills that afflict, our body politic at this critical period of our history.

This brings me to the central point that lends exceptional value and significance to the session we are holding to-day. The affairs of the country, which we Muslims are proud to call our motherland, have reached a stage where they call for the sinking of all petty differences of race and creed and demand united action. An overwhelming responsibility lies on the shoulders of every community in India at this juncture. Their patriotism and sense of duty to the generations yet unborn are on trial. The future of India hangs in the balance. If their lives are touched with the divine spark that moves men to vaster planes of common duty and service, the petty anxieties and perversities of self will be burned to ashes and the dream of the Indian patriot will become a glorious reality. But if these groups of human beings have never known the light of a common purpose, nor has the reality of a common ideal ever entered their lives, if they are so many diverse atoms held together by the accidents of geography and political subjection and the narrowness of little cree is, then there is absolutely no future for India, and all this sterile din and clamour of politics should cease. Need India wait for an answer from the followers of Islam in this great crisis of her fate? We know what our answer ought to be and will be. Let me assure our fellow-countrymen of other creeds, that a Musalman cannot betray the cause of India without betraying his whole past. He shall, God willing, be in the vanguard of the forces that are to fight the battles of constitutional freedam. His active political life is of a short duration, but during this brief period he has traversed the ground that the great Hindu Community took about a quarter of a century to cover. The history of the All-Indian Muslim League is a faithful reflex to the political growth of Indian Musalmans. Within six years of its birth, this great Muslim political organization emerged from its primeval shell, and set before itself a goal towards which the rest of

India was gradually moving. This widening of purpose and outlook was not due to the fiat of any masterful personality, but was the result of the strong pressure of popular opinion. If the League had not adapted its policy and programme to the self-reliant and liberal spirit of the Muslim democracy, it would have probably ceased to exist. To-day it embodies the dynamic force and vitality of a living movement. It works in close touch with Muslim opinion and is, in the widest sense, the representative of the will of the community.

Two Principal Objects of the League

The All-India Muslim League stands to-day for two principal objects, namely, for the safeguarding of the political position of Musalmans and for co-operation with the other communities for the attainment of self-government or home rule. The realization of the first object is, as all fair-minded persons would be ready to admit, an essential condition of the success of the second. It would be idle to talk of co-operation if the Musalmans did not feel a complete sense of security as regards their communal future. They are a 'minority', and in all political developments tending towards a democratic form of State organization, a minority must have certain definite, statutory safeguards. The Muslim demand for such safeguards is, therefore, natural and legitimate; and the 'majority', which in any case holds the balance of power, cannot oppose this demand without laying itself open to the charge of selfishness and political insincerity. Let our Hindu brethren remember that an adequate and effective separate representation of Musalmans in the selfgoverning institutions of the country can in no case deprive them of the decisive power of the majority. When such power is guaranteed to them by their number, I fail to see why some of their communal enthusiasts should deny the Musalmans the right to secure the basis of their political existence. Opposition of this character breeds distrust, and the good faith of those who justify such opposition on the overworked pleas of 'unity' and 'nationalism' comes to be questioned by the Muslim rank and file. Let me take a recent unfortunate episode by way of illustration. Some months ago the Legislature of this Province passed an Act relating to municipalities in which the Musalmans

were given the right of separate representation slightly in excess of their numbers. The Hindu majority on the municipal boards was in the aggregate complete and decisive. And yet some of the Hindu leaders, with a strange lack of the sense of proportion and with a painful disregard of the infinitely vaster issues confronting their country, took up the cry of 'Hindus in danger' and rushed the whole Province into the throes of a bitter and violent agitation. This exhibition of uncompromising temper had scared a considerable section of the Musalmans, and there was a serious danger of the new-born movement for Hindu-Muslim co-operation being strangled at its birth, if the Muslim leaders had also lost their heads and allowed a counter-agitation to grow up with sectarian cries to match. It would have been a bitter irony of fate indeed, if the whole of India were to be punished for the sins of a few unbalanced individuals.

It has given considerable relief to all of us to find that the responsible Hindu leaders in all parts of India realize the Muslim standpoint and are ready to offer all reasonable guarantees for the safety of the Muslim political position. With the settlement of this fundamental question involving the fate of India's future, nothing else should remain in the way of a complete Hindu-Muslim co-operation for the supreme end we both have in view. That end, I need hardly say, is United India, alive to her destiny and recoiling from no toil and sacrifice to rise to the summit of her aspiration, i.e., to the position of a self-governing member of the British Empire. Is there a single Indian in and outside of this hall, born of Indian woman, whose heart fails to warm up and whose pulse does not bear faster as he gives even a moment's thought to this glorious conception? If there is such a miserable wretch in existence, he is a freak and a monstrosity. For such an ideal, no effort can be spared, no sacrifice can be too great.

The Task of Reconstruction

Our task to-day is essentially a task of reconstruction. In concert with the rest of our fellow-countrymen, we have to prepare a scheme of reforms for the administration and Government of India, to be introduced as soon as possible after the end of the war, which would go a long way towards securing an

effective voice to the Indian people in the conduct of public affairs. Your best energies will no doubt be directed to the framing and consideration of such a scheme, and I need not, therefore, waste your time by trying to anticipate you, and evolving obiter dicta of my own. I need not in these circumstances, embark on along recital of the customary grievances that have been the stock-in-trade of the Indian political reformer ever since he took to constitutional agitation. Nor need I undertake a detailed review of the administrative sins of ommission and commission from the point of view of an Indian and a Musalman. These grievances, like the poor, have always been with us. For the present, we have a far bigger and more essential task in hand, and on its satisfactory accomplishment all our energies should be bent.

The Press Act

I cannot, however, close without referring to the administration of the Press Act and the Defence of India Act and the grave feelings of anxiety and alarm to which they have given rise. I need not argue at length to demonstrate the lawless character of the Press Act, or set forth the nature of the circumstances under which it was forged. It is enough to remember that it has proved to be a singularly harsh and drastic measure. The highest tribunals in the land have shown its provisions to be of a nature that have reduced the freedom of the Press to a farce. It confers arbitrary and absolute powers on the executive, and public opinion can be expressed only on sufferance. Many of the most influential and independent Muslim newspapers like the Comrade and Hamdard have succumbed to the operations of this Act. Free and independent journalism in the country has become a most hazardous and risky undertaking. The whole of educated India has been demanding, with one voice, its removal from the statute book, and the sooner it is done the better it would be for the peace and contentment of the country.

The Defence of India Act

The Defence of India Act is an emergency measure which confers extraordinary and exceptional powers on local governments with the object of preserving public safety during the

period of the war. No Indian public man has ever questioned the right and the duty of the State to arm itself with exceptional weapons in a crisis like the one through which the Empire is passing. However, the administration of this measure, which was primarily intended to deal with the enemies of the State, has become a matter of growing concern to the public. The Defence of India Rules have been used with alarming frequency throughout India, and some of the most distinguished and popular Muslim leaders, like Mr. Mohammad Ali and Mr. Shaukat Ali, have been deprived of their liberty and interned. No definite charges have been brought against them, there has been no public trial for any known offence under the law, and they have been given no opportunity to explain the grounds on which the order for their internment may have been based. It is, therefore, no fault of the people if they regard these gentlemen as innocent victims of some cruel misunderstanding or suspicion. I need not speak of the great hold that Mr. Mohammad Ali has on the esteem and affections of his people. Within his comparatively short but crowded career as a devoted servant of his community he has won his way to the heart of Muslim India. The feeling for him and his brother is one of deep sorrow and sympathy, and if this feeling has not found an organized public expression, it is because the Muslim community has exercised wonderful self-restraint, and has refrained from embarrassing the Government at such a time as this. May we hope that the Government will be pleased to take the Muslim sentiment into consideration and restore these Muslim leaders to liberty, thereby earning the deep and abiding gratitude of the entire Muslim community?

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have done. It only remains for me to step aside and make way for my distinguished and able friend, whom we have summoned to preside over our deliberations at this important session of the League. The Hon'ble Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah stands in no need of introduction to an assembly of Indian Musalmans. Though comparatively young in years, he has already made his mark in the public life of this country. His clear gaze and ripe judgment, his cool, imperturbable temper, his sweet reasonableness, his fearless courage and devotion to duty have stood the test through serious crises in public affairs and have helped to save many an awkward

situation. I have no doubt that under his guidance the work of Ninth Session of the All-India Muslim League will be crowned with success.¹

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF MR. MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH

No mere conventional words are needed on my part to express my deep thanks for the great privilege you have conferred on me by selecting me as President of the Ninth Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League. The honour is the highest in the gift of the Muslim community, to which those alone may aspire who have given freely of their thought and time to the service of the communal cause. I am fully sensible of how little I have done to deserve such distinction, nor could I have the presumption to desire it with such a clear sense of my own unworthiness. This choice, however, has come to me in the nature of a mandate from my community, and in such cases individual considerations cannot and must not stand in the way of the larger will. I accept the great and heavy responsibilities of the position only in the belief that I can unreservedly count on your sympathy, zeal and ready co-operation in the great task that lies before us.

As President of the Bombay Presidency Provincial Conference, which was held at Ahmedabad only a few weeks ago, I have had to make a pronouncement; but at the time I accepted the honour of presiding over the Conference, I did not know that I should have this unique honour and responsibility of expressing my views as your President again within so short a time. Much of the ground was covered by me in that speech of mine. I do not now wish to repeat what I said then, nor do I wish to deal with many great and burning questions and problems that affect India in its internal administration. They will. no doubt, be placed before you in the form of resolutions which will be submitted by the speakers in charge of them for your deliberation and consideration. At the present moment the attention of the country at large is entirely concentrated and solely rivetted on the war and what will happen after the war. I have, therefore, decided mainly to deal with the situation in

^{1.} Published as part of the Proceedings of the Ninth Session of the All-India Muslim League by the All-India Muslim League, Lucknow, 1917.

my Presidential Address on those lines, and I will endeavour to place before you my humble views for your consideration, at the same time hoping and trusting that my feeble voice may reach those who hold the destinies of India in their hands.

Annual Stock-Taking

In this great annual meeting of representative Musalmans from all parts of India, who have come to deliberate and take counsel together on the large and important issues that govern our destiny in this land, it will not be out of place to take a wide survey of the conditions in which our lot is cast. This is primarily the time for annual stock-taking, for testing our position in the light of the experience of the past year, for an intelligent preparation of ways and means for meeting the demands of the future, and above all, for refreshing, so to speak, the ideals that feed the springs of our faith, hopes and endeavour. This I take to be the fundamental object for which the annual sessions of political bodies like the All-India Muslim League are held. The circumstances, however, in which we meet to-day, are exceptional and mark a new epoch in the history of our country. All that is great and inspiring to the common affairs of men, for which the noblest and most valiant of mankind have lived and wrought and suffered in all ages and all climes, is now moving India out of its depths. The whole country is awakening to the call of its destiny and is scanning the new horizons with eager hope. A new spirit of earnestness, confidence and resolution is abroad in the land. In all directions are visible the stirrings of a new life. The Musalmans of India would be false to themselves and the traditions of their past, had they not shared to the full the new hope that is moving India's patriotic sons to-day, or had they failed to respond to the call of their country. Their gaze, like that of their Hindu fellow-countrymen, is fixed on the future.

But, gentlemen of the All-India Muslim League, remember that the gaze of your community and of the whole country is at this moment fixed on you. The decisions that you may take in this historic hall, and at this historic session of the League, will go forth with all the force and weight that can legitimately be claimed by the chosen leaders and representatives of 70 million

Indian Musalmans. On the nature of those decisions will depend, in a large measure, the fate of India's future, of India's unity, and of our common ideals and aspirations for constitutional freedom. The moment for decision has arrived. The alternatives are clear and unmistakable. The choice lies in our hands.

The War

The future historian, while chronicling the cataclysms and convulsions of these times, will not fail to note the conjunction of events of boundless influence and scope that have made the fortunes of India so largely dependent on the united will and effort of this generation. These events have, of course, flowed from the world shaking crisis into which Europe was plunged in August 1914. What this dark period has meant in accumulated agony, suffering, destruction and loss to mankind, is beyond any standard of computation known to history. With the unfolding of this appalling tragedy have emerged into light, stark elemental forces of savagery that lay behind a bright and glittering mask of Kultur, which threaten to sweep away the very foundations of civilized life and society. The issues which are in death grips on the battlefield of three continents, go to the roots of the principles on which the fabric of modern civilization has been reared by the energy and toil of countless generations. Freedom, justice, right and public law are pitted against despotism, aggression, anarchy and brute force, and the result of this deadly combat will decide the future of mankind, whether the end will come with a stricken and shattered world. lying bleeding and helpless under the iron heel of the tyrant, with the whole of humanity stripped bare of its hope and faith and reduced to bondage, or whether the hideous nightmare will pass away and the world, redeemed by the blood of the heroic defenders of civilization and freedom, regains its heritage of peace and reconstruction.

These are tremendous issues and the blood of every Indian, with his usual gift of quick moral perception, is stirred by the feeling that he is a citizen of an empire which has staked its all in a supreme endeavour to vindicate the cause of freedom and of right. What India has given in this fellowship of service and

sacrifice has been a free and spontaneous tribute to the ideals of the great British nation, as well as a necessary contribution to the strength of the fighting forces of civilization, which are so valiantly rolling back the tides of scientifically organized barbarism. In this willing service of the people of India, there has been no distinction of class or creed. It has come from every part of the land and from every community with equal readiness and devotion. In this service there has been no cold, calculating instinct at work. It has sprung from a clear compelling sense of duty and moral sympathy and not from any commercial desire to make a safe political investment. India's loyalty to the Empire has set no price on itself.

After such colossal upheavals as this War, the world cannot quietly slip back into its old grooves of life and thought. Much of what the existing generations have known in social and political arrangements is visibly passing away under a deluge of blood and fire. The thick crust of materialism and pampered ease, the inertia of habit, the cramping weight of convention and of institutions that have outlived their use, have fallen off from the lives of the great Western Democracies under the stress of this great struggle for their existence. They have been thrown back on themselves. In the hot furnace of elemental passions, the trifles are being burnt to ashes, the gold is being made pure of dross; and when the terrible ordeal has passed, the liberated soul will feel almost primeval ease and power to plan, to build and to create afresh ampler and freer conditions of life for the future. The range of choice would be unlimited and the need for bold constructive efforts in various directions vital and urgent. Europe after the war will call for statesmanship of a new order to undertake the gigantic tasks of peace. The greatest victory for freedom will have to be conserved. Free nations will have to learn to live freely and intensely. Freedom itself will have to be organized, its bounds made vaster and its powers of self-preservation strengthened and increased.

The Indian Problem

These tasks have a peculiar urgency and significance in case of vast and various communities comprising the British Empire. And among the complex series of problems relating to the

Imperial reconstruction awaiting British statesmanship, none is of more anxious moment than the problem of reconstruction in India. I need not set about to discuss in detail the Indian problem in all its bearings. It has been discussed threadbare by all manner of men from every conceivable angle of vision. However, there are two cardinal facts about the Indian situation which practical statesmanship will have to take into account while addressing itself to the study of the problem and its adequate solution. There is, first, the great fact of British rule in India with its Western character and standards of administration, which while retaining absolute power of initiative, direction and decision, has maintained, for many decades, unbroken peace and order in the land, administered evenhanded justice. brought the Indian mind, through a widespread system of Western education, into contact with the thought and ideals of the West, and thus led to the birth of a great and living movement for the intellectual and moral regeneration of the people. Here I may quote from the speech of H.E. Lord Chelmsford delivered in Calcutta the other day: "The growing self-respect and self-consciousness of her (India's) people are plants that we ourselves have watered." Secondly, there is the fact of the existence of a powerful, unifying process—the most vital and interesting result of Western education in the country—which is creating out of the diverse mass of race and creed a new India, fast growing into unity of thought, purpose and outlook, responsive to new appeals of territorial patriotism and nationality, stirring with new energy and aspiration and becoming daily more purposeful and eager to recover its birthright to direct its own affairs and govern itself. To put it briefly, we have a powerful and efficient bureaucracy of British officers responsible only to the British Parliament, governing, with methods known as benevolent despotism, a people that have grown fully conscious of their destiny and are peacefully struggling for political freedom. This is the Indian problem in a nutshell. The task of British statesmanship is to find a prompt, peaceful and enduring solution of this problem.

If it were possible to isolate the tangled group of social and political phenomena and subject it to a thorough investigation by reason unalloyed by sentiment, it would be infinitely easier to find a safe and sure path for Indian political development and

advance. But, as you know, pure, unalloyed reason is not the chief motive power in human things. In the affairs of our common secular existence, we have to deal not with angels, but with men, with passions, prejudices, personal idiosyncrasies, innumerable crosscurrents of motive, of desire, hope, fear and hate. The Indian problem has all such formidable complications in its texture. We have, for instance, the large and trained body of English officials who carry on the administration of the country and exercise power over the well being and happiness of the teeming millions of this land. They are most of them hard-working, efficient and conscientious public servants, and yet they are beset by the prejudices and limitations that mark them as a class apart. They are naturally conservative, have a rooted horror of bold administrative changes or constitutional experiments, are reluctant to part with power or associate Indians freely in the government of the country. Their main concern appears to be to work the machine smoothly, content to go through their common round from day to day; and they feel bored and worried and upset by the loud, confident and unsettling accents of New India. All this is eminently human; but it also means an enormous aggravation of the difficulties in the path of final settlement. It means in actual experience, the growth of a tremendous class-interest, the interest of the governing class as distinct from, if not wholly opposed to, the interest of the governed. It is, in fact, the existence of this vast, powerful and by no means silent 'interest' that explains the origin and wide currency of certain shallow, bastard and desperate political maxims, which are flung into the face of Indian patriots at the least provocation. They are familiar enough to all students of Indian affairs. As a sample, we may take the following:

- 1. Democratic institutions cannot deprive in the environment of the East. (Why? Were democratic institutions unknown to the Hindus and Mohammedans in the past? What was the village panchayat? What are the history, the traditions, the literature and the precepts of Islam? There are no people in the world who are more democratic, even in their religion, than the Musalmans).
- 2. The only form of government suitable to India is autocracy, tempered by English (European) efficiency and character.
 (All nations have had to go through the experience of despotic

or autocratic government at one time or the other in the history of the world. Russia was liberated to a certain extent only a few years ago. France and England had to struggle before they conquered the autocracy. Is India to remain under the heel of a novel form of autocracy in the shape of bureaucracy for all times to come, when Japan and even China have set up constitutional governments on the democratic lines of Great Britain and America?)

- 3. (a) The interests of the educated classes are opposed to those of the Indian masses; and
- (b) The former would oppress the latter if the strong protecting hand of the British official were withdrawn.

(This astonishing proposition beats all reason and sense. It is suggested that we who are the very kith and kin of the masses, most of us springing from the middle classes, are likely to oppress the people if more power is conferred; that the masses require protection at the hands of the English Officials, between whom and the people there is nothing in common; that our interests are opposed to those of the masses—in what respect, it is never pointed out—and that, therefore, the monopoly of the administrative control should continue in the hands of non-Indian officials. This insidious suggestion, which is so flippantly made, is intended to secure the longest possible lease for the bureaucracy and to enjoy their monopoly. But it can neither stand the light of facts, nor the analysis of truth. One has only to look at the past records of the Congress for more than a quarter of a century, and of the All-India Muslim League, to dismiss this spacious plea. The educated people of this country have shown greater anxiety and solicitude for the welfare and advancement of the masses than for any other question during the last quarter of a century).

4. Indians are unfit to govern themselves. (With this last question, I propose to deal later in my speech).

These are a few of the baseless and silly generalities in which the advocates of the existing methods of Indian governance indulge freely and provocatively when the last menace arises to the monopoly of the bureaucratic authority and power.

Again, if we turn to the internal situation in India, we meet with a set of social, ethnological and cultural conditions unparalleled in recorded history. We have a vast continent inhabited

by 315 million people sprung from various racial stocks, inheriting various cultures, and professing a variety of religious creeds. This stupendous human group, thrown together under one physical and political environment, is still in various stages of intellectual and moral growth. All this means a great diversity of outlook, purpose and endeavour. Every Indian Nationalist who has given close and anxious thought to the problem of nation-building in India, fully realizes the magnitude of his task. He is not afraid of admitting frankly that difficulties exist in his path. Such difficulties have no terrors for him. They are already vanishing before the forces which are developing in the new spirit.

India for the Indians

Well, these are the broad aspects of the Indian problem and they will give you a fair idea of the obstacles that stand in the way of a full and speedy realization of the ideals of Indian patriots. We have a powerfully organized body of conservative 'interest', on the one hand, and a lack of complete organization of the national will and intelligence, on the other. There is, however, one fundamental fact that stands out clear and unmistakable, which no sophistry of argument and no pseudoscientific theories about colour and race can disguise. Amid the clash of warring interests and the noise of foolish catchwords, no coolheaded student of Indian affairs can lose sight of the great obvious truism that India is in the first and the last resort for the Indians. Be the time near or distant, the Indian people are bound to attain to their full stature as a self-governing nation. No force in the world can rob them of their destiny and thwart the purposes of Providence. British statesmanship has not become bankrupt or utterly bereft of its faculty of clear political perception; and it is, therefore, bound to recognize that the working of the law of national development in India, which came to birth with the British rule itself, and is daily gathering momentum under the pressure of the world-forces of freedom and progress, must sooner or later produce a change in the principles and methods of Indian governance. It is inevitable. Then why fight against it, why ignore it, why should there not rather be honest, straight-forward efforts to clear the way of doubts,

suspicions and senseless antagonisms to that glorious consummation? Leaving aside the hair-brained twaddle of the tribe of scientific peddlers who love to sit in judgment on the East and ape political philosophy, no man with the least pretensions to common sense can affect to maintain that the Indian humanity is stamped with a ruthless psychology and cramped for ever within the prison of its skull. If the Indians are not the pariahs of nature, if they are not out of the pale or operation of the laws that govern mankind elsewhere, if their minds can grow in knowledge and power and can think and plan and organize together for common needs of the present and for common hopes of the future, then the only future for them is self-government. i.e., the attainment of the power to apply, through properly organized channels, the common national will and intelligence to the needs and tasks of their national existence. The cant of unfitness must die. The laws of nature and the doctrines of common humanity are not different in the East.

Official Attitude

It is a great relief to think that some of the responsible British statesmen have definitely pronounced in recent years that India's ambition to attain self-government is neither a catastrophe nor a sin. Indeed, that great and sympathetic Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, whose memory will always be cherished with affection by the people of this country, for the first time recognized the legitimacy of that vital Indian aspiration. Other indications have not been wanting of late, which go to show that our national dream and purpose is gaining the stamp of even official approval. There is, however, a world of difference between a theoretical approval of an ideal and its practical application. The supreme duty of the men that lead the forces of Indian progress is to insist that India's rulers should definitely set the ideal before them as the ultimate goal to be attained within reasonable time, and should accelerate the pace accordingly. All our difficulties now arise from the steady reluctance on the part of Indian officialdom to keep this end definitely in view and move faster. Mere sympathy divorced from resolute and active progressive policy can hardly ameliorate the situation. Honeyed words alone cannot suffice. We may congratulate each other about a changed 'angle of vision' and yet remain where we are till doomsday. The time for definite decision and a bold move forward has arrived. The vital question to-day is: Is India fit to be free and to what extent? There can be no shelving of the issue at this juncture. It has to be settled one way or the other. If she is not fit to-day, she has got to be made fit for self-government. This, I maintain, is no less a duty and responsibility of the Government than of the people themselves.

Is India fit for freedom? We who are present here to-day know full well that from the Indian standpoint there can be but one answer. Our critics would probably challenge our conviction. Our only reply to them would be to go forward and put the matter to the proof. After all, what is the test of fitness? If we turn to history, we find that in the past, only such people have been declared to have been fit for freedom who fought for it and attained it. We are living in different times. Peace has its victories. We are fighting and can only fight constitutional battles. This peaceful struggle is not, and will not, be wanting in the quality of vigour and sacrifice, and we are determined to convince the British Empire that we are fit for the place of a partner within the Empire, and nothing less will satisfy India.¹

SECOND SITTING

When the All-India Muslim League resumed its session on the morning of December 31, the attendance was as large as of the day before.

Mr. Wazir Hasan, Secretary of the League, presented the following report of the Reform Committee appointed at Bombay on January 1, 1946.

I have the honour to lay before you a brief summary of the work of the League during the year 1916. We are still under the shadow of the Great War. Contentious matters could not be dealt with. There can, however, be no doubt that work of great value in our national life has been accomplished during the year. The minds of the Musalmans have been familiarized with the idea of a united India. There is a general preception now of the goal towards which Musalmans have to strive and a clear

recognition of the arduous character of the struggle. The Muslim League has brought together the scattered units of community during the year, and has in conjunction with the National Congress, asserted and demanded the legitimate rights of Musalmans.

At the last session of the All-India Muslim League, held at Bombay in 1915, a resolution appointing a Committee to formulate and frame a scheme of reforms was adopted.

In pursuance of this resolution a meeting of the Reform Committee was called at Lucknow on August 21, 1916 to consider and discuss a tentative scheme of reforms. Under ordinary circumstances, I should have hesitated to take upon myself the great responsibility of drawing up a scheme of reforms, but my task became materially lightened by the keen interest which the members of the Reform Committee took in the matter. In this meeting of August 21, I placed before the committee a draft scheme which was intended to serve as a basis for discussion. The members of the Committee, after making necessary alterations, adopted the scheme, which was then printed and circulated among the members of the Reform Committee, as well as the members of the Council of the League.

Another meeting of the Reform Committee to reconsider the draft scheme was held at Calcutta on November 16, 1916 (i.e., a day before the proposed Joint-Conference of the Congress and the Muslim League). In this meeting also the draft scheme was discussed at length and changes made in it. This draft scheme was reprinted and placed before the Joint-Conference held under the presidency of Mr. Surendranath Banerji at the British India Association in Calcutta on November 17-18. The proceedings of the Conference were prolonged over two days; the discussions were animated but friendly; the spirit of compromise was conspicuously in evidence, and the conclusions arrived at were almost unanimous on all points. Only on two points did a difference of opinion remain. But it was hoped that the adoption of the policy of give and take would induce the fair minded leaders in both the Committees to arrive at a settlement. The draft scheme was again circulated among the members of the Reform Committee and the members of the Council of the League who mustered strong to take part in the Joint-Conference of the League and the Congress held at Lucknow on December 25-27, 1916.

The pick of both the communities, the recognized leaders of the Hindus and the Musalmans assembled to discuss again the post-war scheme of reforms on December 25, 1916. The exact numbers of population and of representations were considered, but this was a small matter compared with the vitally important matter of the national life which both the communities inhered, and the supreme interests of India as a nation were recognized as that before which all else must yield. In this spirit, the representation of the various provinces was considered, and decided, and all other details were, after prolonged sittings of three days, discussed and disposed of. The result of the Joint-Conference marks the birth of a new era of brotherhood between the Hindus and the Musalmans, pregnant with immense potentialities for the future.

The following recommendations of the Joint-Conference of the Congress and the League were adopted.

The Raja of Jahangirabad, in moving the adoption of the Scheme, said that it satisfied the minimum demands of India. The time had now come when the two great communities of India should co-operate with each other and actively work to attain the goal in view. They had talked for years, but what they wanted now was active work.

Mr. Sheriff Devji Kanji of Bombay seconded the motion, which was then carried.

SCHEME OF REFORM

Mr. A. Rasul moved the following resolution:

The All-India Muslim League, while adopting the Scheme of Reforms prepared by the Reform Committee of the League and approved by its Council, submits it in conjunction with the Indian National Congress to the Government for its introduction after the war as the first necessary step towards the establishment of complete self-government in India.

He said that he was connected with the Congress for many years, and self-government or home rule was a subject discussed in many places. Self-government, as said by the President yesterday, was not unknown in India, and in the very early days

of Islam they had had republics. It was no new thing to them; they wanted to manage their affairs and to know their grievances and apply remedies. Foreign rulers who did not understand the language of the people could not appreciate the grievances of the people. Some interested parties said that through selfgovernment educated Hindus and Mohammedans wanted to drive away the British. The speaker assured the audience that this was far from their intention. It was well known that England was the most freedom-loving country in the world, and it was also well known that England advocated the cause of freedom of other nations. When England advocated the cause of the Balkan States, did she think that India was less educated than the Balkan States? He did not think England could deny freedom to India. Even Negroes had got self-government. The wording of the present resolution was most moderate, and the reforms prepared by the League and the Congress were only a stepping stone to self-government. The people were only asking for a larger share in the government of their country. It had been said in certain papers that after the war the Colonies would have a larger share in their administration. The speaker said if that was a settled fact, Indians ought to have a share in the administration of India...Mr. L. Curtis, who was present on the platform, had written many books, and the speaker had gathered that his view was that India ought to have a voice in the administration of the Empire, and if that was his object, the speaker said, it was certainly a laudable object.

Moulvi Fazl-ul-Haque of Bengal, seconding the resolution in Urdu, said that all races of India wanted home rule. Hindus, Christians, Jains, Parsis, all wanted it. Why should Mohammedans not have it? If they wanted it equally, then there was no need for discussion on the subject.

At the request of the President, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu addressed the League on Hindu-Mohammedan unity, and said that self-government or government of the people was in the hands of the people, and the co-operation of the two great communities in India was an augury that the time was not far off when they would realize their dream of home rule.

Syed Alay Nabi, supporting the resolution, said that by accepting the Joint Reform Scheme both Hindus and Mohammedans had shown the world the unity of the two great nations of

India, and it was the first step which would lead them to the altar of self-government.

Mr. Yaqub Husain, Nawab Nasir Husain Khiyal and Mr. Mohammad Umar also supported the resolution, which was then carried with great enthusiasm.

While Mr. A. Rasul was speaking on the self-government resolution, Sir James Meston, Lieutenant-Governor, accompanied by Sir Verney Lovett and Mr. L. Curtis, arrived at the meeting and was accorded a most cordial reception, the whole assembly rising from their seats. After Mr. Rasul had concluded his address, Mr. Jinnah, addressing Sir James said that he considered it his duty as President of the Ninth Session of the All-India Muslim League to accord to him a most cordial welcome amongst them, and His Excellency's presence amongst them, as the head of the Local Government, was a clear mark and indication of the Government's desire to understand their opinions and their feelings.

Sir James Meston, who, on rising to speak, was received with deafening cheers, said: "Mr. President and members of the All-India Muslim League, there are in this interesting gathering too many old friends to make it necessary that I should express my acknowledgment and the great pleasure with which I received your invitation to be present to-day and the still greater at the welcome which you have accorded Sir Verney Lovett and myself. It is not possible for me to discuss or even to express an opinion on the subjects which you have gathered to discuss this morning. But it is possible for me, as the Head of the Province in which the Musalmans occupy a large and important place, and also as, I may say, I am an old and sincere friend of the Musalmans (load applause)—it is possible for me in these capacities to offer you welcome to Lucknow and to express a fervent hope that on the subjects which now come before you for consideration, your deliberation will be guided by wisdom and will not overlook, and will not subordinate to any meaner aim, the primary duty of the advancement of the increasing welfare and happiness of the great community which you represent. I sincerely thank you all (loud applause).

DEPUTATION TO ENGLAND

The All-India Muslim League authorizes its Council to appoint a committee consisting of not more than 15 persons which should undertake all necessary work in connection with the scheme of Reforms adopted at this Session.

It further authorizes the Council to organize a deputation of representative Musalmans to go to England immediately after the war with a view to co-operate with the deputation that may be appointed by the Indian National Congress in order to press India's claim as outlined in the Joint Reform Scheme on the attention of the Government and the people of England.

The above resolution was proposed by the Raja of Jahangirabad, seconded by Mr. Sheriff Devji Kanji and supported by Khwaja Abdul Majid. It was carried by acclamation.

ARMS ACT

The All-India Muslim League is strongly of opinion that the invidious distinctions maintained among the different sections of His Majesty's subject under the Arms Act are extremely repugnant to the Indians' sense of justice and self-respect, and urges upon the Government the necessity of an early repeal of the said Act.

Mirza Sami-ul-lah Beg moved the above resolution. In urging the repeal of the Arms Act, he pointed out that it was to the interests of both the rulers and the ruled to repeal the Arms Act immediately. Mr. A.M. Khwaja, seconding the resolution, said that their self-restraint in this matter was being exhausted, and he would urge the repeal of the Act without any delay. The resolution was carried.

PRESS ACT

The All-India Muslim League places on record once more, its strong protest against the continuance of the Press Act on the statute-book, which has proved in practice to be a harsh and oppressive measure and has rendered the free expression of public opinion practically impossible. The League

is emphatically of opinion that the said Act should be entirely repealed at an early date.

Mr. Mumtaz Husain moved the above resolution. The mover demanded the repeal of the Press Act and said that the passing of such an Act created discontent instead of removing it. He added that because of that Press Act, the newspapers did not publish the whole truth, with the result that even when the news of a British victory was published, it was looked at with a certain amount of doubt.

In seconding the resolution, Dr. Nasir-ud-Din Hasan said that the Act was applied to the *Comrade*; but he ventured to say that if the Government had carried out the suggestions made in that admirable paper, they would not have seen the days they were witnessing at present. The resolution was carried.

DEFENCE OF INDIA ACT

The All-India Muslim League views with dismay the present administration of the Defence of India Act as constituting a grave menace to the liberties of the subject and recommends that an advisory committee be appointed in every province to consider the case of every person intended to be dealt with under the Act.

Mr. Abdul Qasim moved the above resolution. He said that though the Act was passed as a war emergency measure, in Bengal this Act had placed a fresh weapon in the hands of the C.I.D. His grievance was that Government, were being misled by the C.I.D. They could not believe that men of culture and patriotism of the type of Mr. Mohammad Ali, Mr. Shaukat Ali, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and others would, at any time, dream of driving the British out of India or do anything unpatriotic. The C.I.D. had to justify their existence, and finding a few cases of sedition, they took advantage of Government measures and were creating disaffection among people. They had very few public spirited leaders among them, and they were being dealt with, one by one, under the Act. The administration of the Act had brought about such results that no man came forward to do the work of mercy as everyman was afraid of the C.I.D. Hafiz Abdul Aziz seconded the resolution.

The President said that before he put the resolution to the vote, he wished to announce that message after message had been sent to him to urge Mr. Bepin Chander Pal to speak on it.

Mr. Pal was then invited to speak. He said that 25 years ago he could not have dreamt of being asked to speak by the Muslims. Why 25, even 10 years ago, even five years ago, he was afraid, they would have been as much afraid of him as some people still were. His objection to the Act was that it was not in favour of the defence of India; it was, instead, an Act which actually, really and deeply injured the cause of the defence of India. He said there were no anarchists in Bengal, and his observation was received with deafening applause. They were revolutionary patriots. Revolutionary patriotism would never be born if there were no attempt to stifle evolutionary patriotism. The Act stifled evolutionary patriotism. There was not one respectable family, high or low, in educated Bengal which was not directly or indirectly affected by internments, and even after acquitals by courts of justice, young men were rearrested and interned. Did such measures of statesmanship create a temper to lead people to quietly judge the guilt or innocence of those young men? He asked the meeting to fancy who were the men interned. One of them was the nephew of Sir Ashutosh Mukerji. Could the Government not have seen Sir Ashutosh and placed evidence against his nephew before him. If Sir Ashutosh had then said that the evidence was unimpeachable, the whole country would say so. But the Government would not do that. They would not trust the people, and that distrust was due to a conflict of interests. That conflict could be removed by one thing only, and that was self-government or home rule. Somebody had said he wanted England always to rule India; but Mr. Pal said, amidst loud applause, that he did not want anybody to rule India for ever. The only person he wanted to rule was Allah. He did not want foreign rule. He wanted an honourable, perpetual connection, a federal connection, a great Indo-British Empire, and this would dominate, not by arms but by character, the whole world civilization. They would keep Asia and Europe in the hollow of their hands. That was the obvious ideal worth living for and dying for (loud applause).

The resolution was carried.

INTERNMENT OF LEADERS

The All-India Muslim League records the deep sorrow and pain that have been caused to the entire Muslim community by the internment of Messrs. Mohammad Ali, Shaukat Ali and Zafar Ali Khan, whose great services to the Muslim cause have placed them in the front rank of Muslim public workers. In view of the fact that no definite charges have been brought against any of these gentlemen, the League prays the Government to restore them to liberty, thereby earning the deep gratitude of the Musalmans of India.

Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque proposed the above resolution. He said even the meanest man has a right of knowing the charge against him, but these great men were not told what the charges against them were. He challenged any Government official to say that they were seditious or undesirable people. He asked the Muslims of India to remember that no one was safe if these three men were not safe. They ought to raise their protests at the top of their voice. They ought to wait on His Excellency Lord Chelmsford and demand from him their release. He asked them to mark the word 'demand' from the Viceroy the release of these three gentlemen.

Syed Nabi-ul-lah, seconded the resolution. In doing so, he urged the Government to save the Muslim community from drifting into seditious propaganda by releasing these gentlemen.

The resolution was further supported by Mr. Yaqub Hasan Seth and Mr. R. M. Ghulam Husain, and was then carried.

MAULANA AZAD

Resolved that Maulana Abul Kalam Azad be given trial on charges made against him by the Government of Bihar and Orissa, and that the League is of opinion that the orders of internment were unjustified.

This resolution was not on the agenda, but was brought forward at the desire of the members. Mr. A.K. Fazl-ul-Haque, moving the resolution, gave a detailed history of how the orders were passed against the Maulana by the Bengal Government, ordering him to leave the Presidency, and how the Government

agreed to rescind the order on receiving a petition from 15,000 Mohammedans and a guarantee given by the Muslim leaders of Bengal that the Maulana would not do anything that would give offence to Government. With reference to the charge made by the Bihar Government, he said that the Maulana had publicly repudiated the charge, and it was the duty of the Government now to give him an opportunity of clearing himself of the charge.

The resolution was seconded by Maulvi Syed Fazl-ul-Rahman, and carried unanimously.

URDU

The League views with alarm the recent activities displayed in certain quarters to displace Urdu from the legitimate position it occupies as the *Lingua Franca* of India, and impresses, on all those interested in the growth and formation of Indian nationality, the desirability of encouraging Urdu, which alone can be the common language of the country.

The resolution was proposed by Maulvi Wahid Husain, seconded by Mr. Alay Nabi and supported by Mr. Zahur Ahmad. The resolution was then put to the vote and carried.

SEPARATE REPRESENTATION

The All-India Muslim League, voicing the Muslim Public opinion, adheres to the principle of separate representation for the Muslim community, expresses satisfaction at the passing of the U.P. Municipalities Act, which accepts that principle, and strongly urges upon the Government the necessity of applying the said principle to local bodies in other provinces where it has not yet been applied.

This resolution was proposed by Nawab Mir Asad Ali Khan and seconded by Maulvi Tufail Ahmad.

The resolution was carried.

INDIANS IN ARMY

The All-India Muslim League urges upon the Government the desirability of throwing open the higher posts and commissioned ranks in the Army to the Indians as well as to allow them to enlist as volunteers.

This resolution was proposed by Mr. Shahid Husain and seconded by Mr. Yaqub Hasan Seth. It was then carried.

PATNA UNIVERSITY BILL

The All-India Muslim League records its protest against the illiberal and retrograde provision embodied in the Patna University Bill, and strongly urges its amendment with a view to bringing it in line with the educated Indian opinion and make it a really useful measure for the progress of higher education in the Province.

The resolution was proposed by Mr. A. Rasul and seconded by Dr. Syed Mahmud, and was then carried.

The following resolutions were put from the Chair and then adopted.

REVENUE LAWS

In the opinion of the All-India Muslim League, the general principles on which the assessment of revenue is based should form part of the Revenue Laws as recommended by the Decentralization Commission, and the limit of enhancement of assessment and the period for which settlement is made should be definitely laid down.

SEPARATION OF EXECUTIVE AND JUDICIARY

The All-India Muslim League, in view of the persistent and unanimous demand on the part of all the sections of the people of India for the separation of the executive and judicial functions, is of opinion that the Government should be pleased to take early steps to bring into effect the desired reform.

ADMINISTRATION OF PROVINCES

The All-India Muslim League thinks it absolutely necessary for good and efficient administration that all the Indian provinces at present under Lieutenant-Governors should be

placed in charge of Governors appointed direct from England, and that provincial executive counsels should be established where they do not exist at present. The League further urges the appointment of Governor-in-Council in the United Provinces as soon as possible.

PRAYER FACILITIES TO MUSLIMS

The All-India Muslim League urges upon the Government the necessity of granting facilities to Musalmans having business in Courts to perform the Jumma and midday prayers. The resolution was proposed by Maulvi Mohammad Yaqub, seconded by Hakim Abdul Qawi and supported by Munshi Ehtisham Ali.

The resolution was passed.

UNIVERSITY AT DACCA

The All-India Muslim League strongly urges upon the Government the necessity of taking immediate steps for the establishment of the promised university at Dacca.

The resolution was proposed by Nawab Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhri. In proposing the resolution, he said:

Gentlemen, this question of a university at Dacca, I may assure you at the very outset, has a peculiar fascination for me. I may say that there has been hardly any other subject connected with Eastern Bengal which has engaged so much of my serious attention during the last few years as this one. I strongly believe that on the speedy and the right solution of this question depends the very future of the Muslim community of Eastern Bengal.

You may remember that the proposal of a university for Eastern Bengal at first originated from no less a personage than Lord Hardinge. The announcement of the annulment of the partition of Bengal in 1911 had thrown the Musalmans of Eastern Bengal into a state of object despair. To conciliate the Musalmans and to soothe their ruffled feelings, Lord Hardinge came down to Dacca and, in a reply to the Mohammedan deputation headed by me, he gave a distinct promise to us, in unequivocal

terms, of a university for Eastern Bengal, which might go a long way to minimize the evils attendant on a reversal to the old order of things. How far this and the other promises and concessions Lord Hardinge made at the time could reasonably be construed to have satisfied the Musalmans and reconciled them to a distinctly disadvantageous position, it is not for me at this time to say. At all events, the promise of a university was taken as an earnest of a strong desire on the part of the Government to do something for the people whom they had been obliged, under the pressure of a most unfortunate combination of circumstances, to deprive of a valuable means of progress and prosperity. For after all, it was education that the Musalmans most cared for. If the partition of Bengal was of any immediate substantial benefit to them, it was in this that is afforded them a number of facilities for the expansion of Muslim education in that province. Under the pre-partition days, in spite of their predominant majority in population, they were the most backward in education. I do not want to say who were in the main responsible for it. Possibly the community itself. But this let me be permitted to say, and it is recognized on all hands, that it was only the partition and the change of circumstances brought about by it that gave the Musalmans that sense of security and freedom without which real progress was impossible.

During the six years of separate administration they enjoyed from 1905 to 1911, the progress they made in education was simply marvellous. In this very short period of time, the Musalmans of Eastern Bengal showed the outside world that, given a liberal government devoted to the interests of the people and protection from every possible baneful extraneous influence, the Musalmans of Eastern Bengal could, as becomes the members of the great Islamic community, appreciate the value of education as much as, and even more than, any other community in India or elsewhere. For it was really a most remarkable change that had come over us in Eastern Bengal in this short duration. Education had increased tenfold and even more. I do not at present intend to take you into any details of the improvement brought about in Eastern Bengal during these days and trouble you with any statistics; for I have a mind to move a similar resolution in the Imperial Council during the next sessions at Delhi. But let me say here that without Partition and the

separate administration for Eastern Bengal, the Muslims would have continued to remain what they were before, an ignorant uncared for lot, with no opportunity to raise their position and status in the country and to advance abreast of the sister communities, Lord Hardinge therefore knew full well that when he was obliged to deprive them of the separate administration, he was taking away from them the surest means of their educational advancement, and that if nothing was done to compensate them for this loss, he would be clearly undoing the marvellous self-improvement which the Musalmans had wrought in the field of education. And in order that a reversal to the old state of things might not deprive the Musalmans of the benefit of their hard labours during these six years and relegate them again to a backward position, he was good enough to promise an effective safeguard in the shape of a residential university, which would necessarily resuscitate the progress they had already made and even accelerate it.

Gentlemen, this promise made about five years back on a most solemn occasion still remains unfulfilled. It has been reiterated by the local government time after time. But nothing as yet has come out of these promises. There are many madrasas in Eastern Bengal, larger in number than you find in any other part of India. As religious education is most cared for in Eastern Bengal, the flower of our youth flocks to these Arabic institutions. In order that they might not be lost to the proposed university and that they also might be given the benefit of English education. We requested the Government to introduce into the curricula of these institutions a provision for the study of English side by with Arabic; so that when the university was established at Dacca, the students that would pass through these reformed madrasas might be taken into the university in which a special faculty of arts, going by the name of Islamic studies, might be instituted for them. The Government of Lord Carmichael, with its characteristics sympathy and solicitude for the welfare of the people of Bengal, readily accepted our prayers. A system of special Matriculation for these Arabic students has been established and is in full force. In 1919 the first examination under this system will be held, and I am at a loss to understand what is to become of those who will come out successful in that examination if, in the meanwhile, the Dacca university

is not established. I have repeatedly drawn the attention of His Excellency Lord Carmichael and other high educational officers, both in Bengal and in the Government of India, to the necessity of a speedy establishment of the university. Everyone, I may say, sympathizes with us, but brings in the plea of want of funds, the continuation of the war and so forth for the post-ponement of its establishment.

Gentlemen, to this line of argument, I need hardly give an answer; I am sure every one of you knows it by this time. The Government has, in these days of war and abnormal expenditure, money enough to raise a High Court at Patna and a university as well there. The Government has money enough to help these and other movements. But when it comes to the question of the Dacca university, the old story is repeated, not realizing perhaps how unjust it appears to the people of Eastern Bengal, for both Hindus and Musalmans are one on this question. Calcutta University is so hopelessly crowded and has become so unwieldy that the necessity for more universities has become imperative, as I have in detail explained in my last speech at Simla on the occasion of the introduction of the Patna University Bill into the Imperial Council. The Herald, which is a responsible organ of Hindu public opinion, has with a singleness of aim devoted itself to the cause of a university for Eastern Bengal. The whole body of public opinion in Eastern Bengal is for it. But the Government asks us to wait. Whether we have not waited sufficiently long it is for you gentlemen to decide. For want of a Muslim College, as provided in the Dacca University Scheme, and for want of a regular boarding house, the Musalman collegiate students of Dacca, who at present number over 200 and who, I may in passing say, were but about 10 at the time of the Partition in 1905, are put to diverse difficulties. With this state of affairs, I do not know how we can really afford to wait for the university for any considerable time, as the Government would desire. I do not wish to say more. I trust you will kindly see your way to accord to the resolution I have moved your whole-hearted unanimous support.

Before I sit down gentlemen, I wish to impress on you that the Dacca university, when it comes into being, will be an asset of utmost value to the cause of the community not only in East Bengal but throughout India—for in its scope, it will be of a unique nature. It will present to the Muslim and the Hindu student the invaluable treasures of their glorious and historic past side by side with treasures from English literature and England's history. It will but with slight effort on the part of both the communities, secure to them a Muslim-Hindu university on perhaps a better footing than the proposed university at Aligarh or the one proposed at Benares.

Gentlemen, I again commend this resolution for your acceptance.¹

The following resolutions were then put from the Chair and were carried:

INDENTURED LABOUR

- 1. In the opinion of the All-India Muslim League it is essential that the system of indentured labour be terminated and all recruitment therefore prohibited within the ensuing year.
- 2. The League is further of opinion that at least one representative Indian, selected upon the recommendation of bodies voicing Indian public opinion, be appointed by the Government of India to participate in the forthcoming inter-departmental conference to be held in England for the consideration of the question.

INDIANS IN BRITISH COLONIES

In respect of the treatment and status of British Indian residents in the self-governing dominions and the Crown colonies, the League desires again to emphasize the growing sense of injury felt in India at the continued ill-treatment and injustice meted out to the Indians resident in those Dominions, and Crown Colonies and strongly urges the statesmen and people thereof, having regard to the closer Imperial relations that have been reached during the present war, to consider the status of the Indian settlers there from a wider and more Imperial standpoint.

INDIAN REPRESENTATION TO WAR CABINET

With regard to the proposal of the Secretary of State for

^{1.} The resolution is assumed to have been carried.

India inviting two specially elected representatives from India to assist him in the forthcoming Special Imperial Conference to a series of special and continuous sittings of the War Cabinet, in order to consider war questions and to prosecute the war vigorously, this League urges that at least two representatives of India, to be elected by the elected members of the Imperial and various Provincial Councils, be allowed to represent India directly and not merely to assist the Secretary of State for India.

WORLD WAR I

The All-India Muslim League places on record its appreciation of the sentiments conveyed in the message of the Prime Minister to the princes and peoples of India, and fully shares in the determination of the British peoples to bring the war to a triumphant issue, but regrets that larger use has not been made of the manpower of India and urges the raising of an army immediately in India from the whole population under Indian commissioned officers.

TRIBUTES TO THE OFFICE BEARERS

The All-India Muslim League places on record its full confidence in the present President and Honorary Secretary of the League and its deep appreciation of the services rendered by them to the Muslim cause.

Khan Bahadur Nawab Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhri, proposing this resolution, remarked:

"The services rendered by Raja Sahib, the President of the League, to the country and the community are well known to us. I have nothing more to add.

"The progress made by the League during the Secretaryship of the Hon'ble Mr. Wazir Hasan was substantial and very encouraging, and does not stand in need of being reiterated. He gave us materials to enable us to think out for ourselves and to draw a line between the duties of the people in their relation to the Government of the country, and duties of the people to themselves in relation to their own advancement. During his time, the Constitution of the League was changed and the ideal

of the League defined. According to the changed Constitution the League undertook the duties which it hitherto hesitated to take upon itself as the League. The League stands to-day rejuvenated and the Indian communities are united."

Nawab Mir Asad Ali seconded the resolution. He said:

"The Hon'ble Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad, the President of the League, sits enthroned in our hearts.

"The self-sacrifice of the Hon'ble Mr. Wazir Hasan, his firmness among raging billows and unflinching devotion to the cause of the community and country have endeared him to us."

Mr. Sheriff D. Kanji, supporting the resolution, remarked that during the Secretaryship of Mr. Wazir Hasan, the bonds of sympathy and love that ought to exist between the different communities have been cemented. The Muslim League and the Congress were now working hand in hand for the good of the country.

The resolution was put to the vote and carried by acclamation.

ELECTIONS

The following gentlemen were proposed by Mr. Wazir Hasan, and seconded by Mr. Sheriff D. Kanji, for re-election as Vice-Presidents of the All-India Muslim League:

Raja Sir Mohammad Tasadduq Rasul Khan, K.C.S.I., of Jahangirabad.

Nawab Abdul Majid Sahib, C.I.E., Bar-at-Law, Allahabad.

Sir Karim Bhoy Ibrahim, Bart., Bombay.

Sir Fazal Bhoy Karim Bhoy, Kt., Bombay?

Nawab Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhri, Khan Bahadur, Bengal.

Khan Bahadur H. M. Malak, Nagpur.

Mr. Abdul Karim Abdul Shakur Jamal, C.I.E., Rangoon.

Haziq-ul-Mulk Hakim Ajmal Khan, Delhi.

Nawab Fateh Ali Khan Qizilbash, C.I.E., Lahore.

Nawab Zulfiqar Ali Khan, C.S.I., Bar-at-Law, Lahore.

Sir Malik Omar Hayat Khan Tiwana, K.C.I.E., M.V.O., Punjab.

Khan Bahadur Mian Mohammad Shafi, C.I.E., Lahore.

Mr. Abdul Aziz, Bar-at-Law, Peshawar.

As soon as Mr. Shafi's name was read, there were loud shouts of "No, No" from all sides, and accordingly Mr. Shafi's name was dropped from the list. The others were re-elected.

The following gentlemen were also elected Vice-Presidents of the All-India Muslim League:

Sir Ibrahim Rahmat-ul-lah, Kt., C.I.E., Bombay. Sir Syed Ali Imam, K.C.S.I., Bar-at-Law, Bankipore. Khan Bahadur Nawab Mir Asad Ali, Madras.

Mr. Nabi-ul-lah then proposed a vote of thanks to the Chair, which was seconded by Mr. A.K. Fazal-ul-Haq. A suitable reply from the President, including exhortations to the Musalmans to do their duty, brought the proceedings to a close at about 9 p.m.¹

Chapter 18

THE REFORM SCHEME

ADOPTED BY THE MUSLIM LEAGUE REFORM COMMITTEE AND THE ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

1. Provincial Legislative Councils

- 1. Provincial Legislative Councils shall consist of four-fifths elected and of one-fifth nominated members.
- 2. Their strength shall be not less than 125 members in the major provinces, and from 50 to 75 in the minor provinces.
- 3. The members of Councils should be elected directly by the people on as broad a franchise as possible.
- 4. Adequate provision should be made for the representation of important minorities by election, and the Mohammedans should be represented through special electorates on the Provincial Legislative Councils in the following proportions:

Punjab—one-half of the elected Indian Members
United Provinces—30 per cent
Bengal—40 per cent
Behar—25 per cent
Central Provinces—15 per cent
Madras—15 per cent

Provided that no Mohammedan shall participate in any of the other elections to the Imperial or Provincial Legislative Councils, save and except those by electorates representing special interests.

Bombay—one-third.

Provided further that no bill, nor any clause thereof, nor a resolution introduced by a non-official member affecting one or the other community, which question is to be determined by the members of that community in the Legislative Council concerned, shall be proceeded with, if three-fourths of the members of that community in the particular Council, Imperial or Provincial, oppose the bill or any clause thereof or the resolution.

- 5. The head of the Provincial Government should not be the President of the Legislative Council, but the Council should have the right of electing its President.
- 6. The right of asking supplementary questions should not be restricted to the member putting the original question, but should be allowed to be exercised by any other member.
- 7. (a) Except customs, post, telegraph, mint, salt, opium, railways, army and navy, and tributes from Indian States, all other sources of revenue should be Provincial.
- (b) There should be no divided heads of revenue. The Government of India should be provided with fixed contributions from the Provincial Governments, such fixed contributions being liable to revision when extraordinary and unforeseen contingencies render such revision necessary.
- (c) The Provincial Council should have full authority to deal with all matters affecting the internal administration of the province including the power to raise loans, to impose and alter taxation, and to vote on the Budget. All items of expenditure, and all proposals concerning ways and means for raising the necessary revenue, should be embodied in Bills and submitted to the Provincial Council for adoption.
- (d) Resolution on all matters within the purview of the Provincial Government should be allowed for discussion in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself.
- (e) A resolution passed by the Provincial Legislative Council shall be binding on the Executive Government, unless vetoed by the Governor-in-Council, provided, however, that if the resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to.
- (f) A motion for adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance, if supported by not less than one-eighth of the members present.

- 8. A special meeting of the Provincial Council may be summoned on a requisition by not less than one-eighth of the members.
- 9. A Bill, other than a Money Bill, may be introduced in Council in accordance with rules made in that behalf of the Council itself, and the consent of the Government should not be required therefor.
- 10. All Bills passed by Provincial Legislatures shall have to receive the assent of the Governor before they become law, but may be vetoed by the Governor-General.
 - 11. The term of office of the members shall be five years.

II. Provincial Governments

- 1. The head of every Provincial Government shall be a Governor who shall not ordinarily belong to the Indian Civil Service or any of the permanent services.
- 2. There shall be in every Province an Executive Council which, with the Governor, shall constitute the Executive Government of the Province.
- 3. Members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Councils.
- 4. Not less than one-half of the members of the Executive Council shall consist of Indians to be elected by the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Council.
 - 5. The term of office of the members shall be five years.

III. Imperial Legislative Council

- 1. The strength of the Imperial Legislative Council shall be 150.
 - 2. Four-fifths of the members shall be elected.
- 3. The franchise for the Imperial Legislative Council should be widened as far as possible on the lines of the electorates for Mohammedans for the Provincial Legislative Councils, and the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Councils should also form an electorate for the return of members to the Imperial Legislative Council.
- 4. One-third of the Indian elected members should be Mohammedans elected by separate Mohammedan electorates in

the several provinces, in the proportion, as nearly as may be, in which they are represented on the Provincial Legislative Councils by separate Mohammedan electorates. Vide provisos to Section I. Clause 4.

- 5. The President of the Council shall be elected by the Council itself.
- 6. The right of asking supplementary questions shall not be restricted to the member putting the original question, but should be allowed to be exercised by any other member.
- 7. A special meeting of the Council may be summoned on a requisition by not less than one-eighth of the members.
- 8. A Bill, other than a Money Bill, may be introduced in Council in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself, and the consent of the Executive Government should not be required therefor.
- 9. All Bills passed by the Council shall have to receive the assent of the Governor-General before they become law.
- 10. All financial proposals relating to sources of income and items of expenditure shall be embodied in Bills. Every such Bill and the Budget as a whole shall be submitted for the vote of the Imperial Legislative Council.
 - 11. The term of office of members shall be five years.
- 12. The matters mentioned herein below shall be exclusively under the control of the Imperial Legislative Council:
 - (a) Matters in regard to which uniform legislation for the whole of India is desirable.
 - (b) Provincial legislation insofar as it may affect interprovincial fiscal relations.
 - (c) Questions affecting purely Imperial Revenue, excepting tributes from Indian States.
 - (d) Questions affecting purely Imperial expenditure, except that no resolution of the Imperial Legislative Council shall be binding on the Governor-General in Council in respect of military charges for the defence of the country.
 - (e) The right of revising Indian tariffs and custom duties, of imposing, altering, or removing any tax or cess, modifying the existing system of currency and banking, and granting any aids or bounties to any or all deserving and nascent industries of the country.

- (f) Resolutions on all matters relating to the administration of the country as a whole.
- 13. A resolution passed by the Legislative Council should be binding on the Executive Government, unless vetoed by the Governor-General in Council: provided however that if the resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to.
- 14. A motion for adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance, if supported by not less than one-eighth of the members present.
- 15. When the Crown chooses to exercise its power of veto in regard to a Bill passed by a Provincial Legislative Council or by the Imperial Legislative Council, it should be exercised within 12 months from the date on which it is passed, and the Bill shall cease to have effect as from the date on which the fact of such veto is made known to the Legislative Council concerned.
- 16. The Imperial Legislative Council shall have no power to interfere with the Government of India's direction of the military affairs and the foreign and political relations of India, including the declaration of war, the making of peace and the entering into treaties.

IV. The Government of India

- 1. The Governor-General of India will be the head of the Government of India.
- 2. He will have an Executive Council, half of whom shall be Indians.
- 3. The Indian members should be elected by the elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council.
- 4. Members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Council of the Governor-General.
- 5. The power of making all appointments in the Imperial Civil Services shall vest in the Government of India, as constituted under this scheme, due regard being paid to existing interests, subject to any laws that may be made by the Imperial Legislative Council.
- 6. The Government of India shall not ordinarily interfere in the local affairs of a province, and powers not specifically

given to a Provincial Government shall be deemed to be vested in-the former. The authority of the Government of India will ordinarily be limited to general supervision and superintendence over the Provincial Governments.

- 7. In legislative and administrative matters, the Government of India, as constituted under this scheme, shall, as far as possible, be independent of the Secretary of State.
- 8. A system of independent audit of the accounts of the Government of India should be instituted.

V. Secretary of State in Council

- 1. The Council of the Secretary of State for India should be abolished.
- 2. The salary of the Secretary of State should be placed on the British Estimates.
- 3. The Secretary of State should, as far as possible, occupy the same position in relation to the Government of India, as the Secretary of State for the Colonies does in relation to the Government of the self-governing Dominions.
- 4. The Secretary of State for India should be assisted by two Permanent Under-Secretaries, one of whom should always be an Indian.

VI. India and the Empire

- 1. In any council or other body which may be constituted or convened for the settlement or control of Imperial affairs, India shall be adequately represented in like manner with the Dominions and with equal rights.
- 2. Indians should be placed on a footing of equality in respect of status and rights of citizenship with other subjects of His Majesty the King throughout the Empire.

VII. Military and Other Matters

1. The military and naval services of His Majesty, both in their commissioned and non-commissioned ranks, should be thrown open to Indians and adequate provision should be made for their selection, training and instruction in India.

- 2. Indians should be allowed to enlist as volunteers.
- 3. Executive officers in India shall have no judicial powers entrusted to them, and the judiciary in every Province shall be placed under the highest Court of that Province.¹

Proceedings of the Joint-Conference of the All-India Congress Committee and the Muslim League Reform Committee held at the Indian Association Room, Calcutta on the 17th and 18th November, 1916.
 Madras, Law Printing House, 1916.

The Muslim Nationalist School

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Madras, December 29-31, 1887

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS BY MR. BADRUDDIN TYABJI

Rajah Sir T. Madhava Rao and Gentlemen,

I thank you most sincerely for the very great honour you have done me by electing me President of this great national assembly. (Applause) Gentlemen, it is impossible not to feel proud of the great distinction you have thus conferred upon me, the greatest distinction which it is in your power to confer upon any one of your countrymen. (Loud and continued applause) Gentlemen, I have had the honour of witnessing great public meetings both in Bombay and elsewhere, but it is quite a novel sensation for me to appear before a meeting of this description—a meeting composed not merely of the representatives of any one city or even of one province—but of the whole of the vast Continent of India—representing not any one class or interest, but all classes (Hear, hear and applause) and all interest of the almost innumerable different communities that constitute the people of India. (Applause)

Gentlemen, I had not the good fortune to be present at the proceedings of the first Congress held in Bombay in 1885, nor had I the good fortune to take part in the deliberations of the second Congress held in Calcutta last year. But, Gentlemen, I have carefully read the proceedings of both the Congresses, and I have no hesitation in declaring that they display an amount of talent, wisdom and eloquence of which we have every reason to be proud. (Applause)

A Representative Gathering

Gentlemen, from the proceedings of the two past Congresses, I think we are fairly entitled to hope that the proceedings of this present Congress will not only be marked by those virtues, but by that moderation and by that sobriety of judgment which is the offspring of political wisdom and political experience. (Applause) Gentlemen, all the friends and well-wishers of India, and all those who take an interest in watching over the progress and prosperity of our people, have every reason to rejoice at the increasing success of each succeeding Congress. At the first Congress in Bombay, in 1885, we had less than 100 representatives from the different parts of India; in the second Congress, at Calcutta, in 1886, we had as many as 440 representatives; while at this Congress, I believe, we have over 600 delegates (Applause) representing all the different parts and all the different communities of this great Empire. I think, then Gentlemen, that we are fairly entitled to say that this is a truely representative national gathering. (Hear, hear and applause) Indeed if that tentative form of representative institutions, which has so often been asked for from Government, were granted to us, I have not the smallest doubt but that many of the gentlemen I now have the honour of addressing, would be elected by their respective constituencies to represent their interest. (Applause)

Congress and Musalmans

Gentlemen, it has been urged in derogation of our character, as a representative national gathering, that one great and important community—the Musalman community—has kept aloof from the proceedings of the two last Congresses. Now, Gentlemen, in the first place, this is only partially true and applies only to one particular part of India, and is moreover due to certain special, local, and temporary causes (*Hear*, hear and applause), and in the second place, no such reproach can, I think, with any show of justice be urged against this present Congress (Applause) and, Gentlemen, I must honestly confess to you that one great motive, which has induced me in the present state of my health to undertake the grave responsibilities

of presiding over your deliberations, has been an earnest desire on my part to prove, as far as in my power lies, that I, at least not merely in my individual capacity but as representing the Anjuman-i-Islam of Bombay (Loud applause), do not consider that there is anything whatever in the position or the relations of the different communities of India—be they Hindus, Musalmans, Parsees, or Christians—which should induce the leaders of any one community to stand aloof from the others in their efforts to obtain those great general rights, which are for the common benefit of us all (Hear, hear and applause) and which, I feel assured, have only to be earnestly and unanimously pressed upon Government to be granted to us.

Gentlemen, it is undoubtedly true that each one of our great Indian communities has its own peculiar, social, moral, educational and even political difficulties to surmount—but so far as general political questions affecting the whole of India—such as those which alone are discussed by this Congress—are concerned, I, for one, am utterly at a loss to understand why Musalmans should not work shoulder to shoulder. (Hear, hear and applause) Gentlemen, this is the principle on which we, in the Bombay Presidency, have always acted, and from the number, the character, the position, and the attainments of Musalman delegates from the Bengal Presidency and from the Presidency of Madras, as well as from the North-West Provinces and the Punjab, I have not the smallest doubt that this is also the view held, with few though perhaps important exceptions, by the leaders of the Musalman communities throughout the whole of India. (Hear, hear and applause).

A Congress of Educated Natives

Gentlemen, it has been urged as a slur upon our loyalty that this Congress is composed of what are called the educated natives of India. Now, if by this it is intended to be conveyed that we are merely a crowd of people with nothing but our education to commend us, if it is intended to be conveyed that the gentry, the nobility, and the aristocracy of the land have kept aloof from us, I can only meet that assertion by the most direct and the most absolute denial. (Hear, hear and applause) To any person who made that assertion, I should feel inclined to say:

'Come with me into this Hall (Applause) and look around you, (Applause) and tell me where you could wish to see a better representation of the aristocracy, not only of birth and of wealth, but of intellect, education and position, than you see gathered within the walls of this Hall'. (Applause) But Gentlemen, if no such insinuation is intended to be made, I should only say that I am happy to think that this Congress does consist of the educated natives of India. (Hear, hear)

Gentlemen, I, for one, am proud to be called not only educated but a "native" of this country. (Applause and hear, hear) And, Gentlemen, I should like to know where among all the millions of Her Majesty's subjects in India are to be found more truely loyal, nay, more devoted friends of the British Empire than among these educated natives. (Loud and continued applause) Gentlemen, to be a true and sincere friend of the British Government, it is necessary that one should be in a position to appreciate the great blessings which that Government has conferred upon us, and I should like to know who is in a better position to appreciate these blessings—the ignorant peasants or the educated natives? Who, for instance, will better appreciate the advantages of good roads, railways, telegraphs and post offices. schools, colleges and universities, hospitals, good laws and impartial courts of justice—the educated native or the ignorant peasants of this country? (Applause) Gentlemen, if there ever were to arise—which God forbid—any great struggle between Russia and Great Britain for supremacy in this country—who is more likely to judge better of the two Empires? (Hear, hear) Again I say, Gentlemen, that in these matters it is the educated natives that are best qualified to judge, because it is we who know and are best able to appreciate, for instance, the blessings of the right of public meeting, the liberty of action and of speech, and high education which we enjoy under Great Britain, whereas probably under Russia we should have nothing but a haughty and despotic Government, whose chief glory would consist in vast military organization, aggression upon our neighbours, and great military exploits. (Applause)

Are the Educated Natives Disloyal?

No, Gentlemen, let our opponents say what they please. We

the educated natives, by the mere force of our education, must be the best appreciators of blessings of a civilized and enlightened Government and, therefore, in our own interests, the best and staunchest supporters of the British Government in India. (Applause) But, Gentlemen, do those who thus charge us with disloyalty stop for a moment to consider the full meaning and effect of their argument,—do they realize the full import and significance of the assertion they make? Do they understand that, in charging us with disloyalty, they are in reality condemning and denouncing the very Government which it is their intention to support. (Hear, hear, loud and continued applause) For, Gentlemen, when they say that the educated natives of India are disloyal, what does it mean? It means this: that in the opinion of the educated natives—that is to say, of all the men of light and learning, all those who have received a sound, liberal and enlightened education, all those who are acquainted with the history of their own country and with the nature of the present and past Governments, that in the opinion of all these—the English Government is so bad that it has deserved to forfeit the confidence and the loyalty of the thinking part of the population. (Hear, hear and applause) Now, Gentlemen, is it conceivable that a more frightful and unjust condemnation of the British Government can be pronounced than is implied in this charge of disloyalty against the educated natives of India? Gentlemen, if this charge were brought by some bitter enemies of Great Britain, if it were brought by the Russians, for example, I could understand it. (Hear, hear) But it is almost beyond my comprehension that it should come, not from enemies but from the supposed friends of the British Government (Loud laughter, and hear, hear), not from the Russians but from Englishmen (Hear, hear), who presumably want, not to destroy, but to support their Government? I say it surpasses my comprehension. (Loud applause) Gentlemen, just consider for a moment the effect of this reckless allegation upon the uneducated millions of the inhabitants of this country, upon the hordes of the Russians in the north, and upon the enlightened nations of Europe: I say, therefore, that the conduct of those who thus recklessly charge us with disloyalty resembles the conduct of the "foolish woodman", who was lopping off the very branch of the tree upon which he was standing (Hear, hear, loud applause and loud laughter), unconscious that the destruction of the branch meant the destruction of himself. (Applause and laughter)

Happily, however, Gentlemen, this allegation is as absurd as it is unfounded. It is as unjust to us as it is unjust to the Government it impeaches. But though, Gentlemen, I maintain that the educated natives, as a class, are loyal to the backbone, (Hear, hear) I must yet admit that some of our countrymen are not always guarded, not always cautious, in the language they employ. I must admit that some of them do sometimes afford openings for hostile criticisms, and I must say that I have myself observed in some of Indian newspapers, and in speeches of public speakers, sentiments and expressions which are calculated to lead one to the conclusion that they have not fully realised the distinction between licence and liberty; that they have not wholly grasped the lesson that freedom has its responsibilities no less than its privileges. (Hear, hear) And, therefore, Gentlemen, I trust that not only during the debates of this Congress, but on all occasions, we shall ever bear in mind and ever impress upon our countrymen that, if we are to enjoy the right of public discussion, the liberty of speech and liberty of the Press, we must so conduct ourselves to demonstrate by our conduct, by our moderation, by the justness of our criticisms, that we fully deserve these—the greatest blessings which enlightened Government can confer upon its subjects. (Hear, hear and applause)

Eurôpeans and Indian Aspirations

Gentlemen, it has been sometimes urged that Europeans in this country do not fully sympathise with the just aspirations of the natives of India. In the first place, this is not universally true, because I have the good fortune to know many Europeans than whom truer or more devoted friends of India do not breathe on the face of the earth. (Hear, hear and applause) And in the second place, we must be prepared to make every considerable allowance for our European fellow-subjects, because their position in this country is surrounded by difficult and complicated questions, not merely of a political but of a social character, which tend more or less to keep the two communities as under in spite of the best efforts of the leaders of

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European no less than of native society. Gentlemen, so long as our European friends come to this country as merely temporary residents, so long as they come here merely for the purpose of trade, commerce or of a profession, so long as they do not look upon India as a country in whose welfare they are permanently interested, so long it will be impossible for us to expect that the majority of the Europeans should fraternize with us upon all great public questions (Hear, hear) and it has, therefore, always seemed to me that one of the greatest, the most difficult, the most complicated and, at the same time, one of the most important problems to be solved is, how to make our European friends look upon India as in some sense their own country, even by adoption. For, Gentlemen, if we could but induce our retired merchants, engineers, doctors, solicitors, barristers, judges and civilians to make India permanently their home (Hear, hear and applause), what an amount of talent and ability, political experience and ripe judgment we should retain in India for the benefit of us all. (Applause) All these great questions in regard to the financial drain on India, and those questions arising from jealousy of races and the rivalry for public employment, would at once disappear. And when we speak of the poverty of India, because of the draining away of vast sums of money from India to England, it has always seemed to me strange that so little thought should be bestowed upon the question of the poverty of our resources, caused by the drain of so many men of public, political and intellectual eminence from our shores every year. (Applause)

Congress and Social Reform

Now, Gentlemen, one word as to the scope of our action and deliberations. It has been urged—solemnly urged—as an objection against our proceedings—that this Congress does not discuss the question of Social Reform. But, Gentlemen, this matter has already been fully dealt with by my friend, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, who presided over your deliberations last year. And I must confess that the objection seems to me strange, seeing that this Congress is composed of the representatives, not of any one class or community, not of one part of India, but of all the different parts, and of all the different classes, and

of all the different communities of India. Whereas any question of Social Reform must of necessity affect some particular part or some particular community of India only—and, therefore, Gentlemen, it seems to me, that although we, Musalmans, have our own social problems to solve, just as our Hindu and Parsee friends have theirs, yet these questions can be best dealt with by the leaders of the particular communities to which they relate. (Applause) I, therefore, think, Gentlemen, that the only wise and, indeed, the only possible course we can adopt is to confine our discussions to such questions as affect the whole of India at large, and to abstain from the discussion of questions that affect a particular part or a particular community only. (Loud applause)

Subjects Before the Congress

Gentlemen, I do not at present at least propose to say anything upon the various problems that will be submitted to you for your consideration. I have no doubt the questions will be discussed in a manner and in a spirit that will reflect credit upon us all. I will only say this; Be moderate in your demands, be just in your criticism, be accurate in your facts, be logical in your conclusions, and you may rest assured that any propositions you may make our rulers will be received with that benign consideration which is the characteristic of a strong and enlightened Government. (Applause) And now, Gentlemen, I fear, I have already trespassed (voices of "No, no") too long upon your time. Before I sit down, I will once more offer to you my thanks from the very bottom of my heart for the very great honour you have done me, and I pray to God that I may be enabled, in some measure at least, to deserve your approbation and justify the choice you have made and the confidence you have reposed in me. (Loud applause) Gentlemen, I wish this Congress and all succeeding Congresses every success and every prosperity.(Applause)

Tribute to the Dead

I am very glad to see the representatives of so many different communities and parts of India gathered together this

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afternoon before us. This, in itself, Gentlemen, is no small advantage that we, as representatives of the different parts of India, should have the opportunity of meeting and discussing together the various problems that affect us all. (Applause) Gentlemen, I will not take up much more of your time. I say as our Chairman, Sir T. Madhava Rao, has said: "I welcome you here" but at the same time I cannot help expressing my deep regret, a regret that I know you all share, that on this occasion we are deprived of the aid and counsel of some of those gentlemen, who laboured most earnestly for and who graced with their presence the Congress on previous occasions. and who have now, all too soon for their country's sake, passed from amongst us. Among the friends we have lost are: Dr. Athalye of Bombay and Madras, who took such an energetic part in the first Congress held in Bombay, in the year 1885, and Mr. Girija Bhusar Mookerjee, whom you all know, and whom all who knew loved and respected, and who was one of the most active workers of the Congress held in Calcutta last year. Then, too, we have to mourn the loss of Mr. Daya Ram Jethmall, the founder of the National Party in Sind, and a distinguished gentleman belonging to this Presidency (though I fear I am not in a position to pronounce his name correctly), Mr. Singaraju Venkata Subbaroyudu of Masulipatam. But, to all these, Gentlemen, of whose assistance and guidance we have been deprived, we must owe a lasting debt of gratitude. They, in their life-time, spared no pains to make the Congress either in Bombay or Calcutta, a success, as far as in their power lay, and it only remains for us, while cherishing their memories, to emulate their example. (Loud and continued applause)

Conclusion

Gentlemen, in addition to those of you, who have been able to come to Madras, we have received numerous letters and telegrams from associations of various kinds, and from a large number of representative men in other parts of India, who for some reason or other have been debarred from being represented at or attending this Congress. We have received telegrams from Hyderabad, from all kinds of places in the Madras Presidency—the names of which I shall not venture to pronounce—

from Karachi, Calcutta, Dehra Dun, Sambur, Bangalore, Dacca, from His Highness the Maharaja of Darbhanga, Messrs. Lal Mohun and Mano Mohan Ghose. Telang, and a vast number of other places and persons too numerous for me to pretend to recapitulate. There are no less than sixty odd telegrams along placed before me. But, Gentlemen, there is one among those which I am particularly anxious to bring to your notice, and that is from our old and distinguished friend, Mr. Atkins (Laughter), whom by name at least I have not the smallest doubt, every one of us here perfectly knows. (Applause) Gentlemen, in his telegram he wishes this Congress and all future Congresses perfect success. (Applause) He wishes that the unity of the different communities should be promoted and that the objects which we all have at heart should be attained. (Applause) I think you will be of opinion that that is a very good omen. We want the assistance not only of representative men of the Indian communities, but we also want the assistance of Europeans. (Applause) Gentlemen, while we are attempting to learn some few lessons in the art of self-Government, our European friends have inherited that art from their forefathers after centuries of experience and it cannot be doubted that if we can induce our European friends to co-operate with us in these various political matters, which in point of fact affect them no less than they affect us, it cannot, I say, be doubted that it will conduce to the advantage, not only of ourselves, but of the European community also. (Loud applause)1

Chapter 20

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Calcutta, December 28-31, 1896

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS BY MR. RAHIMATULLAH SAYANI (EXTRACT)

Congress and Mohammedans

With a record of such illustrious Presidents before me, and coming, as I had to do immediately, after one of the most eloquent modern Indian orators and leading spirits of the wealthy and educated province of Bengal, I naturally felt diffident of my ability to discharge the onerous and responsible duties devolving upon the occupant of this chair, but counting, as I have already stated, upon your indulgence, forbearance, and generosity, your sympathy and support, I consented to preside, resolved to follow the example of my esteemed friend, Mr. Justice Badruddin Tyabji, who has had the benefit of eight years' residence in England, is a gentleman of manifold experience. moderate and considerate views on public affairs, and who has been eminently successful, but is nevertheless an orthodox Musalman commanding the confidence and respect of his coreligionists. The one great object lesson which his example teaches is, that Musalmans, with benefit to themselves, and consistently with Musalman interests,—even assuming the Musalman interests, as unthinkingly alleged, are in conflict with interests of the rest of the Indians,—can and ought to take part in this national movement.

Syed Ahmed Khan on Indian Agitation

At a meeting held on the 19th May 1866, at Aligarh, Syed Ahmed Khan, in a deliberate speech, said:

"It is with great regret that we view the indifference and want of knowledge evinced by the people of India with regard to the British Parliament. Can you expect that body, Gentlemen, to take a deep interest in your affairs if you do not lay your affairs before it? There are many men now composing it, liberal in their views, just and virtuous in their dealings, who take a deep interest in all that affects the welfare of the human race. To excite this interest, however, it is necessary that the requirements and wishes of that portion of mankind on whose behalf they are to exert themselves be made clearly known to them. Their interest and philanthropy once excited, you may feel assured, Gentlemen, that the wants, be they wants of the Jew. the Hindu, the Christian or the Mohammedan, of the black man or of the white, will be attentively studied and duly cared for. India, with that slowness to avail herself of that which would benefit her, so characteristic of Eastern races, has hitherto looked on Parliament with a dreamy apathetic eye, content to have her affairs, in the shape of her Budget, brought before it in an annual and generally inaudible speech by Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India. Is this state of things to continue, or has the time now come when the interests of this great dependency are to be properly represented in the governing body of the British Nation. It has come, Gentlemen, and I entreat you to interest yourselves for your country. The European section of the community in India, now grown so large, have set on foot an association in London with branch association in India. in order to have Indian affairs and the wants and desires of all classes of her inhabitants brought prominently to the notice of Parliament...but unless the entire native community over here co-operate with them, place funds at their disposal, and take such measures as may conduce to place the scheme on a permanent basis, the opportunity will be lost, the natives of India will be unrepresented, and you will only have yourselves to reproach when in after-years you see the European section of the community enjoying their well earned concession, whilst your wants remain still unmet.

"I am afraid that a feeling of fear that the Government or the district authorities would esteem you factious and discontented, were you to inaugurate such a measure deters you from coming forward for your country's good. Are the Europeans thought

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factious and discontented? Believe me, that this moral cowardice is wrong, this apprehension unfounded; and that there is not an Englishman of a liberal turn of mind in India who would regard with feelings other than those of pleasure and hope such a healthy sign of increased civilization on the part of its inhabitants. If you will only show yourselves possessed of zeal and self-reliance, you are far more likely to gain the esteem of an independent race, like the English than if you remain, as you are, apathetic and dependent. The actions and laws of every Government, even the wisest that ever existed, although done or enacted from the most upright and patriotic motive, have at times proved inconsistent with the requirements of the people or opposed to real justice. The natives have at present little or no voice in the management of the affairs of their country, and should any measure of Government prove obnoxious to them, they brood over it, appearing outwardly satisfied and happy. whilst discontent is rankling in their minds. I hope you, my native hearers, will not be angry with me for speaking the truth. You know that you are in the habit of inveighing against various acts of Government in your own homes and amongst your own families, and that you, in the course of your visits to European gentlemen, represent yourselves as quite satisfied with the justice and wisdom of these very acts. Such a state of affairs is inimical to the well-being of the country. Far better would it be for India were her people to speak out openly and honestly their opinions as to the justice or otherwise of the acts of Government."

Syed Ahmed Khan then quotes from John Stuart Mill the following passage:

"The rights and interests of every or of any person are only secure from being deregarded when the person interested is himself able and habitually disposed to stand up for them. The second is that the general prosperity attains a greater height and is more widely diffused in proportion to the personal energies enlisted in promoting it."

Syed Ahmed Khan then proceeds:

"These principles, my friends, are as applicable to the people of India as they are to those of any other nation, and it is in

your power, it now rests with you alone to put them into practice. If you will not help yourselves, you may be quite certain no one else will. Why should you be afraid? Here am I a servant of Government, speaking out plainly to you in this public meeting. My attachment to Government was proved, as many of you know, in the eventful year of the Mutiny. It is my firm conviction on which I have invariably expressed my opinion, both in public and in private that the greater the confidence of the people of India, in the Government, the more solid the foundation upon which the cultivated between your rulers and yourselves, the greater will be the future benefits to your country. Be loyal in your hearts, place every reliance upon your rulers, speak out openly, honestly, and respectfully all your grievances, hopes and fears, and you may be quite sure that such a course of conduct will place you in the enjoyment of all your legitimate rights, and that this is compatible, nay synonymous with true loyalty to the State and will be upheld by all whose opinion is worth hearing."

Congress and Musalmans

It is imagined by some persons that all, or almost all the Musalmans of India, are against the Congress movement. That is not true. Indeed, by far the largest part do not know what the Congress movement is—Education of any sort or kind is conspicuous by its absence amongst them and their habitual apathy has kept them from understanding the movement at all. In fact, they are blissfully ignorant. What the causes of such ignorance and apathy are, will be presently inquired into. It will be sufficient here to state—that one infinitely small class of persons who have received liberal education through the medium of the English language, and another equally infinitely small class of persons who have received no education whatever through the medium of the English language, but who have acquired a smattering or what they are pleased to consider education through the Hindustani language, have considered it a fashionable thing to abuse the Congress and Congressmen as such. There being thus two different classes of malcontents, if they may be so-called, the grounds of their opposition are naturally different, nay even inconsistent, with each other. There

is a third class also, a small one at present, who have recently risen from their apathy and are honestly endeavouring to educate themselves in the right direction and are destined soon to come to the front, and it may safely be surmised, will become as enthusiastic supporters of the Congress movement as any; but with this last mentioned class we have no immediate concern, and this address will confine itself to the two classes, first mentioned. Before going, however, through the grounds of opposition on the part of these two classes, it is desirable to revert to the causes of ignorance and apathy aforesaid. An advocate of the views of the first two classes might well be supposed, if he ever cared to put his views systematically, to place the case for the Mohammedans in the following way:

Before the advent of the British in India, the Musalmans were the rulers of the country. The Musalmans had, therefore, all the advantages appertaining to the ruling class. The sovereigns and the chiefs were their co-religionists, and so were the great landlords and the great officials. The court language was their own. Every place of trust and responsibility, or carrying influence and high emoluments was by birthright theirs. The Hindu did occupy some positions, but the Hindu holders of position were but the tenents-at-will of the Musalmans. The Musalmans had complete access to the sovereigns and to the chiefs. They could, and did, often eat at the same table with them. They could also, and often did, inter-marry. The Hindus stood in awe of them. Enjoyment and influence and all the good things of the world were theirs. Into the best-regulated kingdoms, however, as into the best-regulated societies and families. misfortunes would intrude and misfortunes did intrude into this happy Musalman Rule. By a stroke of misfortune, the Musalmans had to abdicate their position and descend to the level of their Hindu fellow-countrymen. The Hindus who had before stood in awe of their Musalman master were thus raised a step by the fall of their said masters and with their former awe dropped their courtesy also. The Musalmans who are a very sensitive race, naturally resented the treatment and would have nothing to do either with their rulers or with their fellow-subjects. Meanwhile the noble policy of the new rulers of the country introduced English education into the country. The learning of an entirely unknown and foreign language, of course, required

hard application and industry. The Hindus were accustomed to this, as even under the Musalman Rule, they had practically to master a foreign tongue, and so easily took to the new education. But the Musalmans had not yet become accustomed to this sort of thing, and were, moreover, not then in a mood to learn, much less to learn anything that required hard work and application, especially as they had to work harder than their former subjects, the Hindus. Moreover, they resented competing with the Hindus, whom they had till recently regarded as their inferiors. The result was that so far as education was concerned, the Musalmans who were once superior to the Hindus now actually became their inferiors. Of course, they grumbled and groaned, but the irony of fate was, inexorable. The stern realities of life were straner than fiction. The Musalmans were gradually ousted from their lands, their offices; in fact, everything was lost save their honour. The Hindus, from a subservient state, came into the lands, offices and other wordly advantages of their former masters. Their exultation knew no bounds, and they trod upon the heels of their former masters. The Musalmans would have nothing to do with anything in which they might have to come into contact with the Hindus. They were soon reduced to a state of utter poverty. Ignorance and apathy seized hold of them while the fall of their former greatness raukled in their hearts. This represents the train of thought which preoccupies the mind of many who would otherwise be well disposed towards this movement; all will admit that though they might object to particular statements, on the whole there is an element of truth which explains the Mohammedan depression.

Sir W.W Hunter on Early Mohammedan Influence

Sir W.W. Hunter says:

"Almost everywhere" "it was found that the Hindu population seized with avidity on the opportunities afforded by state education or bettering themselves in life; while the Mohammedan community, excepting in certain localities, failed as a whole to do so. State education thus put the finishing stroke to the influence of the Mohammedans, as the former ruling race in India. 601

That position they had inherited from the time of the Mogul Empire, and during the first period of the Company's administration they still held an unique proportion of official posts. In the last century Musalman Collectors gathered the Company's land tax in Bengal, Musalman Foujidars and Ghatwals officered its police. A great Musalman Department, with its headquarters in the Nawab Nizam's palace at Murshidabad, and a network of Musalman officials over every district in Lower Bengal, administered the Criminal Law. Musalman Jailors kept wardover the prison population of Northern India: Kazis or Mohammedan Doctors of Law presided in the Civil and Domestic Courts. When the company first attempted to administer justice by means of trained English Officers in its Bengal possessions, the Mohammedan Law Doctors still sat with them as their authoritative advisers on points of law. The Code of Islam remained for many purposes the law of the land, and the ministerial and subordinate offices of Government continued to be the almost hereditary property of the Musalmans."

But with the introduction of English education, "the Hindus began to pour into every grade of official life; and the State system of education in 1854 completed the resolution."

Teaching disappeared every where, even in the mosques. After the Mohammedan conquest of India, the mosques had become "The centres of educational activity, and were supported by imperial or local grants of land".

But the mosques now ceased teaching, even in Lower Bengal, the Province which, "a hundred years previously, was officered by a few Englishmen, a sprinkling of Hindus, and a multitude of Mohammedans".

The Musalmans lost all ground. "It became apparent that Western instruction was producing not only a redistribution of employments but also an upheaval of races."

British Sympathy with Musalmans

The Government of India, that is, the English Gentlemen, both in England and in India, directly concerned in carrying on the administration of India, became alarmed at this state of things. The English people, generally were grieved at the mistaken, yet noble, race of Indian Musalmans thus going fast to

ruin. Despatch after despatch was sent to India to do something for the Musalmans. Special facilities were ordered. Some Musalmans were after all found willing to receive liberal education, and these in their turn organised themselves into a body to educate others, and thus arose the educated class of Musalmans. The Musalmans are noted for their gratitude. Some persons seem to have put it into their heads that Government as a body disapproved of their subjects criticising the measures of the administration. Hence that educated class, honestly, though mistakenly, oppose the Congress movement. As to the second class, their interest lies in keeping the Musalmans ignorant, so as to turn such ignorance and the consequent credulity to their own advantage.

Alleged Mohammedan Objections to the Congress

The following appear to be the objections of the Musalmans to the Congress:

- 1. That it is against their religion to join the Congress, as by joining the Congress they will be joining the Hindus who are no Musalmans.
- 2. That it is against their religion to join the Congress, as by joining the Congress they will be joining a movement opposed to Government, a thing which is opposed to their religion, which directs obedience and loyalty to Government, albeit Government may not be treating them properly.
- 3. That it is against their religion to learn the English language.
- 4. That the success of the Congress would weaken the British Rule, and might eventually result in the overthrow of British Power and the substitution of Hindu Rule.
- 5. That Government is against the Congress movement; that in addition to the duty of loyalty, the Musalmans owe the duty of gratitude to Government for giving them a liberal education; therefore by joining the Congress, the Musalmans would be guilty of the sin of ingratitude towards Government.
- 6. That the Congress does not adequately represent all the races of India.

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- 7. That the motives of the persons constituting the Congress are not honest.
- 8. That the aims and objects of the Congress are not practical.
- 9. That the Congress is not important enough to deal satisfactorily with the subjects it takes up.
- 10. That the modes of Government prevailing in the West, namely examination, representation, and election, are not adapted to India.
 - 11. That such modes are not adapted to Musalmans.
- 12. That the result of the application of Western methods to India would be to place all offices under Government in the power of the Hindus, and the Musalmans would be completely ousted from Government employment.
- 13. That Government employment should be conferred not on the test of examinations, but by selection on the ground of race, position of the family, and other social and local consideration.
- 14. That public distinctions, such as seats on the Legislative Councils, Municipal Boards, and other public bodies should be conferred not by the test of election, but by nomination based on the ground of race, and social influence and importance.
- 15. That inasmuch as the Congress is a representative body, and inasmuch as the Hindus formed the minority of the population the Congress will necessarily be swamped by the Hindus, and the resolutions of the Congress will, to all intents and purposes, be the resolutions of the Hindus, and the Musarmans' voice will be drowned, and, therefore, if the Musarmans join the Congress, they will not only not be heard, but will be actually assisting in supporting Hindus to pass resolutions against the interest of the Musarmans, and to give colour to such resolutions as the resolutions of Hindus and Musarmans combined, and thus aiding in passing resolutions against themselves and misleading Government into believing that the Musarmans are in favour of such resolutions.
- 16. That Musalman boys have to learn the languages appertaining to their religion before joining schools; they are, therefore—at a disadvantage in the start for English education as compared with the Hindus. That the result is, that the Hindus pass the examinations, and as Government employment is given

upon the test of examinations, the Musalmans are necessarily ousted from Government employment, and it follows that the test of examination is not a fair test.

17. That as employments are given on the test of examinations, the result is that Hindus get such employment, and even in districts where the majority of the population are Musalmans, the Hindus form the subordinate officialdom. That the Hindus, being hostile to the Musalmans, lord it over them, and the Musalmans are naturally grieved to be lorded over by the Hindus; that in many cases these Hindus are from the lower strata of society, and in that case they tyrannise the more and thus aggravate the harsh treatment of the Musalmans. That the result is that the Musalmans, and amongst them Musalmans descended from royal and noble families, are mortified at being not only ruled over, but even molested by and tyrannised over, in all manner of ways by Hindus, and Hindus of lowest orders.

Mr. Sayani's Answers to Mohammedan Objections

I now proceed to answer these objections:

1. Musalmans in the past, Musalmans not in name only but orthodox, true Musalmans—constantly travelled in foreign lands and mixed with all the nations of the world. The Musalmans in India are the descendants of the Musalmans who thus travelled to and settled in India, and of the Hindus whom such Musalmans converted to Islam. All the Musalmans in India have always lived side by side with the Hindus and mixed with them and even co-operated with them, both during the period of the Musalman Rule, as also since then. In fact, both the Musalmans and the Hindus, as also other races residing in this country are all equally the inhabitants of one and the same country, and are thus bound to each other by ties of a common nativity. They are all sharers in the benefits and advantages, as also in the list consequent on common residence; and so far as natural and climatic conditions are concerned, all the inhabitants, respective of all other considerations, are subject to common joys and common sorrows and must necessarily co-operate with each other, as humanity is imperfect and dependent on cooperation. Again, both the Musalmans and the Hindus are 605

subjects of the same sovereign and living under the same laws, and are equally affected by the same administration. The object of the Congress is to give expression to the political demands of the subjects, and to pray that their political grievances may be redressed and their political disabilities may be removed; that the political burdens of the country may be lightened and its political conditions may be ameliorated; that the political status of millions of human beings who are their fellow-countrymen may be improved, and their general condition may be rendered more tolerable. It is a most meritorious work. a work of the highest charity. No nobler or more charitable work could be conceived. The only question is whether there should be two separate organisations, Musalman and non-Musalman, both simultaneously doing the same work, separate in name, but identical in nature and interest; or whether there should be a joint organisation. Obviously, the latter is preferable, especially as the Congress has no concern whatever with the religion or the religious convictions of any of its members.

- 2. It is not true that the Congress movement is a movement in opposition to Government. It is a movement for the purpose of expressing the grievances of the subjects to Government in a legal and constitutional manner, and for the purpose of asking Government to fulfil promises made by Government, of its own free will and pleasure; in fact, it is the duty of all truly loyal subjects—desirous of seeing the Government maintained in its power-to inform Government of their own wants and wishes as it is also the duty of Government to ascertain the wants and wishes of subjects and, indeed, those subjects who will not keep the Government well informed of their own wants and wishes cannot be called true friends of Government. We are all aware that the English nation, our common fellow-subjects, always makes it a point to inform of its own wants and wishes, so that Government may be able to fulfil such wants and wishes. In the case of India, moreover, promises have been made from time to time by Government to concede certain privileges; indeed, we have the plighted word of our Most Gracious Sovereign herself confirming those promises. It is our duty, therefore, to remind Government of such promises and to ask it to fulfil them.
- 3. Language is but the medium of expression. Orthodox and true Musalmans have in their time learned the Greek, the

Latin, and other languages. There is, nothing against learning any language. Many Musalmans of India, indeed, most of them speak languages other than the language of their religion. The objection, therefore, against learning the English language, which is moreover the language of our rulers, is so absurd on the face of it, that it need not be further adverted to.

- 4. The object of the Congress has already been stated. The success of the Congress, as has also been stated, instead of weakening Government, will only contribute towards the greater permanence of British rule in India. The Musalmans, therefore, need not be frightened by phantoms created by their own imagination.
- 5. It is the duty of all good boys, who have by the liberal policy of their fathers been enabled to receive a liberal education to repay the kindness of their fathers, by assisting their fathers in the management of their affairs with the aid of such education and by contributing to the maintenance and welfare of the family by all honest means in their power. Similarly, it is the duty of those subjects who have received a liberal education with the aid of Government, to repay the kindness of Government by assisting Government in the proper discharge of its high functions by informing Government of the shoals and rocks lying ahead in its path and thus enabling Government to steer clear of such shoals and rocks, and not to lie by quitely with false sense of gratitude and leaving Government to run against such shoals and rocks and thus unitentionally, of course, but nevertheless contribute to its grounding ashore. True gratitude lies in true good wishes and true good assistance, and not in false modesty and indolence.
- 6. If the Congress does not, as is alleged, adequately represent all the races, surely the fault lies, not on the shoulders of the Congress leaders who invite all the races, but on the shoulders of those races themselves who turn a deaf ear to such invitation, and prefer not to respond to it. It is the duty of such races, in response to such invitation, to attend the Congress and not blame the Congress when, in fact, they ought to blame themselves.
- 7. All public bodies assembled in public meetings, desirous of giving every publicity to their proceedings and even keeping a public record of its transactions, ought to be judged by their

sayings and doings. It is not right or proper to attribute to such bodies improper motives, unless such motive can be fairly and reasonably inferred from their sayings or both. In fact, no person, having any sense of self-respect, ought to attribute improper motives, unless he is prepared to prove the same, and it is to be hoped, for the honour of the Musalmans, to cease from making reckless charges which they are not prepared to substantiate.

- 8. As to the aims and objects of the Congress not being practical, it is well-known fact that public attention has been drawn to the demands of the Congress, and not only the classes but even the masses have already been awakened to a sense of their political grievances and disabilities. Government has also been pleased to take into its favourable consideration the demands of the Congress, and has partially conceded the expansion of the Lagislative Councils and introduced the element of election therein. Indeed, if the Congress movement is continued with the same ability, prudence and sagacity that have characterised it in the past, and especially if those who have hitherto contented themselves with simply throwing out objections begin in right earnest to take part in the movement, the movement is certain to bear fruit in the very near future and to end in practical results.
- 9. As to the Congress not being important enough to deal with the subjects it takes up, it will not be denied that the Congress contains in its ranks some of the most educated, most wealthy and most influential men of the day, some of whom have occupied—and occupied honourably-public offices of trust and importance and most of whom are leaders of their respective centres. In fact, in the Congress camp one comes across legislators, municipal councillors, rich zamindaes, extensive merchants, renowned lawyers, eminent doctors, experienced publicists, indeed, representatives of every industry and every profession in the land. In fact, it will be hard-nay impossible—to name any other non-official public body equally important with the Congress.
- 10. As to the modes of government prevailing in the West not being adapted to India, the position stands as follows: In a primary state of society, whilst a particular small nation, confined to a narrow territory, is governed by a single ruler, who generally belongs to that nation and is residing in that territory,

not as the nation is not a numerous one and the territory not a large one, the ruler is necessarily in daily and constant touch with his subjects. The affairs of the State are of a very limited nature and do not occupy much time of the ruler. Moreover, there are not special or local circumstances of sufficient importance to be taken into consideration. The affairs of the State are of a simple nature. The offices are not many and do not require special merits for their proper performance. Whenever, therefore, the ruler has to appoint to a post, the ruler himself is qualified to do so. He does not find it necessary to resort to any complicated method for the performance of this part of his duty. Hence the posts are filled without compelling the candidates to undergo the trouble of going through any definite or complicate course of instruction or examination. As the nation, however, increases in numbers, as the territory is enlarged and the needs of society become more numerous and more complicated, the number of the posts to be filled becomes greater, and the qualifications required for the proper performance of the posts grow higher and are of diverse character. The touch of the ruler with each one of the ruled gets less and less, and the ruler cannot possibly keep himself personally abreast of a knowledge of the increased and complicated needs of the people. He becomes, in fact, less qualified to properly fill up all the posts, and he is compelled to delegate this part of his duty to others. In course of time, he discovers that it is not a very satisfactory thing to nominate to posts by means of deputies and that some definite method of selection must be substituted. The considerations which formerly guided him, when he alone had personally to nominate, are of such a vague character when placed in the hands of his deputies, that he finds that it is not only not useful but even mischievous to resort to them as, instead of such considerations being in fact given weight to, they simply open a wide door to undue influence and even bribery, and he finds it necessary to discard them and is compelled to limit himself to selection by a public examination of candidates, after they have gone through a course of instruction laid down for the purpose. Thus it happens that all other qualifications such as of family, standing and position and others come to be dispensed with, and the test of public examinations, that is, of personal merit alone, as tested by such examinations, is substituted.

It may be conceded at once that it is not a perfect of infallible test. It is a choice of evils. In order, however, to guard so far as possible against the evil of dispensing with the other considerations, a certain proportion of the posts is reserved to be filled up by the original method of nomination and the examination test is resorted to for filling up initial posts alone, and promotion is guided by seniority and merit combined. The circumstances above set forth are not peculiar to one particular country or climate, but are equally applicable to all, and it is not correct to say that the above method is a peculiarly Western method and not applicable or adapted to India. In fact, in China, which is peculiarly an Eastern country, the same method has been of universal application for many centuries past. Moreover, the present rulers of India happen to be foreigners, and in their case, therefore, the considerations, which have led to the method of examination being adopted, apply with even greater force. The above considerations also apply to the method of election and representation, though not with the same force or to the same extent. Hence election and also nomination in the case of Local Boards, Municipal Corporations, Legislative Councils, and the like. It has been suggested by the Honourable Haji Mohamed Ismail Khan, of the North East Provinces, that the Congress should pass a resolution "recognizing the absolute necessity of equality of number of Hindu and Mohammedan elected members in Legislative Councils, District Boards and Municipalities...and "wishing all Hindus and Mohammedan elected members in Regulative Councils, district boards and Municipalities..." and "working all Hindus and Musalmans to elect accordingly. It is a good suggestion, but so long as Musalmans do not join the Congress movement in the same numbers and with the same enthusiasm as the Hindus do, the Congress cannot in fairness be asked to carry out such a suggestion in the manner and to the extent indicated in the suggestion.

11. As to the modes of government prevailing in the West not being adapted to Musalmans, the observations in answer to objection No. 10 also apply to this objection. The Musalmans may be reminded that our Holy Prophet did not name a successor. He left it to the believers to elect one for themselves. The Caliph or the successor was originally freely chosen by the

free suffrages of the believers and was responsible to them for his acts. In later times this practice was altered and the Caliphs were made hereditary; but this was done by the confidence and the consent of the believers. But even to this day, the sanction of the believers in the shape of Biat, is deemed necessary. "The Government of Islam", says Mr. Ahmed Riza, "is therefore in the hands of an elective monarch, limited in the exercise of his powers by prescriptive religious traditions. According to Musalman Law if the Caliph departs from these traditions, the body of the learned (Ulema) is armed with the right of remonstrating, and is even able to depose him. Amongst these traditions, there is one which makes it obligatory on the Caliph not to do, or even to resolve on, any act without first seeking the advice of the chiefs of the tribes and the doctors of the law—a principle very characteristic of Representative Government. According to Musalman Law, the Caliph is bound to be just, to respect the liberties of the people, to love his subjects, to consider their needs and listen to their grievance..." "It is clear that Islam knew how to determine and regulate the rights, and duties of the sovereign, even before England essayed the task". Islamism has no caste. "Let all your subjects", said Frederick the Great, have the right to address you directly both in speech and writing." "The Musalmans", says Mr. Ahmed Riza, "are free from clerical denomination, and know nothing of rank or social grade". Said Ali, the fourth Caliph, "Superiority in knowledge is the highest titlex of honour." "The spirit of selfsacrifice and devotion" of the Musalmans was remarkable. Musalman cities were "full of servants and men of letters". "Roman Law and Greek Science continued their evolution among the Araba." "The best of Holy Wars", said our Holy Prophet, "is the righteous word spoken to a monarch who is acting tyrannically". "Islam knows no master; the Commander of Faithful is only the chosen servant of the people". "Obedience to a Chief is limited; it is founded on the presumption that the Chief commands in the name of the law and in the interests of him who obeys". "Obey me, said Abu Bekr (the first Caliph), "so long as I go on in good practices. If I deceive myself, warn me. If you do not, you will be reasonable". "The Government of Islam is a collective authority in which every free citizen, in possession, of his mental faculties, is bound by a common des-

tiny, and shares its responsibilities". "Islamism is not occupied with supra, mundane interests alone. It does not say, "Leave to Caesar the things that are Caesar's." It teaches its adepts that they have a civil duty to fulfil here below, and especially the duty of controlling the conduct of Caesar. Election and Representation as also Universal Brotherhood are the characteristics of Islam ought not to be objected to by Musalmans. All Musalmans are equal, and if they want any employment, they must, like the rest, pass public examinations. If they want any position of rank, they must endeavour to be fit for such position and resort to election, like the rest. Of course, if they can gain such position by nomination, they must thank their good fortune, but if they cannot, they have no right to grumble. They may contend, however, that so far as examinations are concerned, they are at a disadvantage, as compared with the Hindus. If that is so, it is no doubt a misfortune. But surely they must rely on merciful Provindence and put their own shoulder to the wheel, and by the grace of God they are bound to succeed in their efforts; nay even more, if they have more difficulties to overcome than the Hindus, so much the more creditable will be their success to them, and so much the more will they be qualified, not only for the initial posts, but for higher promotion. In fact, even in India we find that when Musalmans do really take to liberal education, they generally equal, if not even surpass, the other races, and that Musalmans are good not only in matters requiring muscle and valour, but also mental powers and intellectual vigour, and the Musalmans community of India can produce distinguished and deeply learned scholars as Mr. Justice Badruddin, Mr. Justice Ameer Ali and Mr. Justice Mahmood, and here it may be remarked in passing that if Musalmans in India have a few more leaders of educational advancement, of the calibre and energy, and persistence and devotion, of the type of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, who has by his lifelong services done a great deal for Musalmans in this matter, and whose name will be remembered with gratitute and admiration for a long time to come. Musalman education is bound to prosper. The Musalmans may further contend that in elections they will be swamped. All that may be said here is that they are mistaken in thinking so. They have simply to try, and they will find that they will have no reason to complain.

Assuming, however, that they are unsuccessful, notwithstanding their honest endeavours and notwithstanding their fitfulness, why, then, Government will, for its own safety, be compelled to come to their help. Objections 12, 13, 14 and 16 have already been answered.

15. It does not follow that, because the Hindus form the majority of the Congress, that the Resolutions of the Congress will be the Resolutions of the Hindus. It is a standing rule of the Congress, solemnly passed and recorded that if any proposal is disapproved of by the bulk of either the Hindus or the Musalmans, the same shall not be carried. Again, the Congress if not a meeting of shareholders in a Joint-Stock Company or any other body formed for the gain of profit or for private interests, and a numerical majority does not and cannot influence its decisions—decisions by the bye, which cannot affect anybody as they are simply expressions of opinion, and as such must necessarily depend on their intrinsic sense and reasonableness to carry any weight with Government for whose benefit they are passed. Again, so long as the Congress leaders happened to be men of education and enlightenment, men of approved conduct and wide experience, men, in fact, who have a reputation to lose, the Congress will never be allowed to run its course for the benefit of sectional, private or party purposes. Again, if the Musalmans attend Congress meetings, surely the Congress shall be bound to hear and to give careful consideration to Musalman views, and arguments founded on facts and reason are bound to prevail. Assuming, however, that the Congress is reduced to a rabble meeting, which is not probably, why, then it will lose its position nobody will pay any attention to its resolutions.

The Musalmans, however, instead of raising purile and imaginary objections from a distance, should attend Congress meetings and see for themselves what is going on in such meetings indeed, they will find that even when one member puts forward cogent reasons in opposition to the proposal, such proposal is eventually dropped.

17. If the complaint in regard to the conduct referred to in the objection be correct, it may be mentioned that such conduct is not peculiar to any particular race.

It is in the nature of things that persons of low origin, born and brought up in the atmosphere of low morals, should, on

finding themselves suddenly clothed with the authority of the Sircar, get their heads turned and be led into playing the tyrant. The less the education they have received, and the smaller the emoluments their posts carry, the greater their superciliousness, the more marked their contempt for others. Cringing to superior authority and lording it over the people who have anything to do officially with them, are the distinguishing traits of these pests of society. Persons of high birth and culture, who have seen better days and better society, may sometimes be naturally inclined to give to these supercilious tyrants a sound thrashing so as to make them remember it to the end of their days and prevent them from reverting to their evil ways. But persons of high birth and culture naturally recoil from doing anything which may savour of vulgarism, and hence their silent sufferings. Government has been ever ready and willing to check high-handedness and insulting conduct on the part of their native subordinate officials. Europeans, both official and nonofficial, lovers of manliness and justice as they are, strongly disapprove their hauteur. But no Government, however watchful, and however anxious it may be, can possibly completely eradicate the evil, the true remedies for the removal of which are as follows. The standard of education required of candidates for subordinate official posts should be gradually raised higher and higher so as to compel the candidates to have better education, better culture, in order to make them forget the evil surroundings of their previous life and to take to a better appreciation of the moral law of nature. At the same time education should be disseminated all over the land, and the standard or education of the masses, should be gradually and steadily raised, so that the masses, armed with the weapon of education, may not have meekly to submit to petty tyrannies, but may know how to protect themselves against them and to bring the offenders to a proper sense of their puniness and the impropriety of their conduct by means of union and the agitation of their grievances, and in legally provocable cases by bringing the culprits to their well-deserved punishment.

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF ISLAM

All who believe in one God and acknowledge the Holy

Prophet are true believers. The fundamental principles of Islam are few and simple. Islam knows no castes and ought not to have dicisions and sub-divisions. Yet we find Islam divided into sects, into innumerable divisions. This is certainly against the spirit of Islam. All true believers are equal. By Musalman Law they can all eat with each other, nay more, they can eat with the followers of the Great Prophets on whom Revelation has descended. All Musalmans can intermarry, nay more, Musalman males can marry females from the followers of the Great Prophets. Yet the different sects of Indian Musalmans will not intermarry, even amongst themselves. It is the duty of all true believers to educate themselves, their wives and their sons and their daughters so as to enable them to know God aright. Yet ignorance is the prevailing rule amongst Indian Musalmans. Musalman females are free. Marriage is a contract in which the husband and the wife are parties. Females have independent property. Yet amongst Indian Musalmans there are frequent cases of maltreatment of wives. The Musiids are places of worship as also places for giving education, and places of meeting for discussion of social and political matters. Yet discussion and consideration and expression of opinions is an exceptional thing amongst Indian Musalmans. Freedom of speech and liberty of action consistent with a few fundamental and world-recognised principles are the birthright of Musalmans. Yet Indian Musalmans are content to sit idle. To point out to the rulers their own grievances and to ask redress for them is the privilege of Musalmans. Yet Indian Musalmans prefer to remain silent. To be active and to be energetic, to be enterprising and to be fearless, has been the characteristic of the faithful. Yet Indian Musalmans prefer to remain indolent and apathetic. Are not Indian Musalmans, then, to blame themselves? If the Indian Musalmans once shake off their lethargy andird themselves of their apathy, if they unite together and love each other, as members of the same fold, as brothers of a Universal Brotherhood. mix with each other and intermarry, educate themselves, and their wives and children, and meet together and exchange opinion and voice their grievances and generally endeavour to raise themselves and actively co-operate in the raising of their brethren, they have under merciful Providence as bright a future before them as they had a glorious past. The Indian Musalmans

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are a brave and generous race, and it is natural that they should smart under the misfortunes that have overtaken them and resent the treatment that has been and is extended to them. But certainly apathy and lethargy are not the means calculated to reinstate them in anything like their former greatness. Relying, therefore, upon merciful Providence and True Religion, and placing confidence in Almighty God, the Creator of the Universe and the Dispenser of all things, they must rise equal to their present trials, and it is to be fervently hoped that the Benign Ruler may have mercy upon them and raise them again to prosperity and good fortune.

MOHAMMEDAN EDUCATION

One of the obvious means by which Indian Musalmans can raise themselves is education. It is stated that there are five crores of Musalmans in India. It is further stated that the average annual income per head of population in India is rupees twenty-seven. If so, the average annual income of Indian Musalmans ought to be rupees one hundred and thirty-five crores. Tae Zakat or tax on this income at the rate of two-and-a-half per cent, comes to nearly rupees three crores. Making all possible allowances for those who may be exempted from payment of Zakat, and for that purpose reducing it to one-tenth, we can have the splendid annual sum of rupees thirty lakhs, that is, at the rate of one anna per annum per head of Musalmans in India, which is certainly not a very heavy average annual payment. If all the Indian Musalmans join together and voluntarily contribute as above suggested, they will thereby be fulfilling one of the main commandments of Islam, and thus performing an act of duty. With this magnificent sum, schools for primary, secondary and higher education can be established and maintained, and in such schools education as also food and clothing to students may be given, and there will thus every year be maintained, lodged and educated thousands and thousands of Indian Musalman youths. Government will have, under the grant-inaid rules, to contribute to this sum, and thus the total sum will be materially increased. If this system is established and continued, in the course of a few years education will have permeated all ranks of Indian Musalmans, and the condition of the

whole body will have become so much improved as to be a performance on the part of all Indian Musalmans of a strictly religious duty and on the part of the leaders co-operation and good management, and it is to be devoutly wished that Musalmans in every part of India, instead of scouting the idea, will allow good sense for once to overcome apathy and lethargy and give to this suggestion a sympathetic consideration.

MOHAMMEDAN MORAL CODE

It may be observed here in passing that it is sometimes contended in disparagement of the Indian Musalmans that "Islam is unfit to be a moral code for a nation to live in", that "the faith of the Islam is incompatible with good Government and with the happiness of a people". Both the above accusations are absolutely false. In fact, the tenets of Islam are inherently capable of good Government and good and happy subjects. The very first and most fundamental doctrine of Islam that there is no God but God, that is but one God, is not only the true doctrine, but also binds the true believer to be a respectable man, and, if Musalmans have become degenerated, it is not an account, but in spite, of Islam. Another fundamental doctrine is that of prayers. Prayers bring the human being in personal contact with his Creator. Another fundamental doctrine is that of observing fast, which teaches men by personal experience to think of the miseries of their fellow-human beings. Another fundamental doctrine is that of charity, and which has been admitted all over the earth and in all times to be an excellent virtue. Another fundamental doctrine is that of Haj, which apart from its religious benefit, has all the benefits of travel. There is nothing, therefore, in Islam to cause demneracy; on the other hand, there is everything in Islam to make Musalmans loyal subjects and good citizens.

Chapter 21

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Karachi, December 26-30, 1913

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS BY NAWAB SYED MOHAMMED (EXTRACT)

WELCOME RAPPROCHEMENT

In the eloquent address delivered by the late Mr. Badruddin Tyabji as the President of the Third Congress held at Madras in 1887, he said:

It has been urged in derogation of our character as a representative national gathering that one great and important community—the Musalman Community—has kept aloof from the proceedings of the two last Congresses. Now, Gentlemen, this is only partially true, and applies to one particular part of India, and is moreover due to certain special local and temporary causes.

These temporary causes alluded to by Mr. Tyabji are now gradually disappearing with the progress of education and it is a happy sign of the advancing times that there is an increasing rapprochement between Hindus and Musalmans—a rapproachement emphasised this year by the fact that the "All-India Muslim League", during its session held in Lucknow, has adopted the following resolution, namely:

That the 'All-India Muslim League' places on record its firm belief that the future development and progress of the people of India depend on the harmonious working and co-operation of the various communities and hopes that leaders on both sides will periodically meet together to find a modus operandi for joint and concerted action in questions of public good.

Another resolution which the League has adopted defines its

object as "the attainment under the aegis of the British Crown of a system of Self-Government suitable to India". I cordially welcome the spirit in which these resolutions are conceived, and I rejoice in the changed attitude which the Muslim League has adopted in its political course of action (Cheers) and in the happy and harmonious progress it foreshadows for the Mohammedan and Hindu communities. My friend, the Hon'ble Mr. Muhammad Shafi, who presided at that session of the League, referring to this question in his interesting address said:

The adoption of the alternative proposal put forward by some of our friends that the League should set up Colonial Form of Government in India as its ultimate goal is, in my opinion, inadmissible as well as politically unsound. The political conditions, internal and external, prevailing in the British Colonies have no analogy whatsoever with those obtaining in India and I am in entire accord with my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Jinnah in thinking that the adoption of any course other than the one proposed by the Council would be absolutely unwise. Moreover, for a political organisation in a country circumstanced as India is and more particularly when passing through a transitional period, the adoption of a definite form of Government as the ultimate goal of its ambitions is opposed to principles of practical statesmanship.

I need not pause to dwell on the criticism which is levelled at the ideal of the Colonial Form of Self-Government adopted by the Congress and takes in lieu of it Self-Government suitable to India. At the same time I cannot pass on without pointing out that the term "Colonial Form of Government" is sufficiently elastic and is in no way restrictive. Self-Government, as established in the various Colonies, is not on the same footing, but is based on different forms of constitution suitable to the conditions of each Colony and its position in relation to the Empire. Therefore the ideal which the Congress adopted a few years ago after mature consideration and with the advice of its friends and supporters in England, was in my opinion a practical solution of the difficulties that were then confronting us. We ourselves knew the difficulties of adopting any definite ideal while the country was passing through a transition, and the term, as I have said before, covers every possible form of government which may be ultimately decided upon. If it is definite,

it is in one respect only, in that it affirms and proclaims the acceptance of the unalterable and necessary condition of British supremacy. In my opinion both the ideals are identical and I do not find any substantial difference in them but only a difference of language. There is a real concord in sentiment between the two communities and it goes without saying that no colonial form of Self-Government can hold good in India which is not modified by and adjusted to the conditions of this country. We may depend upon it that the leaders of thought in India will not accept an arrangement that falls short of their expectations and aspirations and, therefore, not suitable to their country. After all, it is a matter of detail and perhaps of academic interest. We are concerned with enunciating principles and are not and cannot be discussing details here at this stage. A genuine desire on the part of all concerned to solve the problems confronting us will remove all differences and misunderstandings. It is therefore eminently desirable that the leaders of both communities should come face to face to find a modus operandi approaching the questions vitally affecting our well-being in a spirit of conciliation and fraternal co-operation.

Gentlemen, I do not wish that our efforts should resemble that of a captain who goes with a few followers to explore an unknown part of the globe or one who climbs upon a certain peak in the solitude of the Himalayan region to discover its relative position with that of other hills. Our common-sense teaches us that the entire population of the country composed of all sections, united and resolute, should raise itself from the depths of disunion and dissension, to be elevated plane of constitutional method for the purpose of representing our wants and requirements to the Government. My opinion is therefore emphatic that the existence of such an organization as this is absolutely necessary in the future as it has been in the past. (Hear, hear) In fact our political propaganda is about to receive that accession of strength which is so very essential to the achievement of the common ideal. For, in the words of Mr. Syed Wazir Hasan:

The ideal of self-Government which the All-India Muslim League has placed on its programme is an important step towards the formation of that great nationality for the building of which all Indians are aspiring. I rejoice to see a conclusive proof that the members of the religious fraternity to which I belong have resolved not to live in a state of perpetual isolation from other communities, even though it may be "splendid isolation." (Cheers) In support of this I repeat the words of my friend, Mr. Syed Wazir Hasan "that the progress of their common motherland must depend on a hearty co-operation among all persons".

POLICY OF "UNITE AND RULE"

Gentlemen, it is sometimes said that the policy of our Rulers is one of "divide and rule". But the observations of Mr. Montagu, in the course of his Indian Budget speech in the House of Commons, in August last clearly show that the present Government at any rate are anxious that harmony and co-operation should exist between the various races professing different religions in India, especially Hindus and Musalmans. Our Under Secretary of State observed:

I said something about the relations between the Musalman and Hindu some years ago. I think it is possible to say something more to-day, because it is difficult for Indian national ideals to take any intelligible or any satisfactory form so long as the great Musalman community stands apart from the rest of the Indian population. I am confident of the future. I believe that the Indian people of all races know fully well to-day that the desire and the intention of the Government, communicated to all its officers and understood by them, is that there should be complete harmony between all the races there. The maxim divide et impera—one of the most dangerous maxims has no place in our text book of statesmanship. I can state emphatically that if the leaders of the Musalman and Hindu communities could meet and settle amongst themselves some of the questions which from time to time arise out of and foster differences of opinion and tradition, they would find ready co-operation from the Government.

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